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ARTÍCULOS

Television programming during late francoism: propaganda in entertainment and disclosure emissions*

La programación televisiva del tardofranquismo: la propaganda en las emisiones de entretenimiento y divulgación

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Resumen

El objetivo de esta investigación es determinar en qué medida la programación televisiva tenía elementos que reforzaban la figura del Estado, en el periodo denominado Tardofranquismo, en el entretenimiento y la divulgación. Esta etapa se inicia simbólicamente con la designación de Juan Carlos de Borbón como sucesor de Franco en 1969 y concluye con el fin de la dictadura, por lo que se ha establecido como fecha final el 20 de noviembre de 1975. Para ello, el objeto de estudio seleccionado son las parrillas de programación, como fuente primaria. La hipótesis afirma que la televisión era un escaparate para mostrar que la modernidad había llegado a España. El análisis detecta qué tipo de espacios estaban dirigidos a ese fin, en este periodo que comienza con una tímida apertura cultural. Los espacios formativos televisivos fueron muy limitados y los únicos permanentes son los de divulgación de la fe católica. Todos estos elementos no son diferentes a los de otros países europeos. La única salvedad eran los espacios informativos, que mantuvieron un férreo control, y las temáticas moralmente controvertidas o que criticaban al Régimen.

Abstract

The goal of this communication is to determine the extent to which the television programming supported the Spanish government image during Late-Francoism. This period symbolically started with the designation of Juan Carlos de Borbón as the natural successor of Franco in 1969, and ended with the death of the dictator. The object of study are the programming lists (the grills), as the primary source. The hypothesis is that the official television message was to show that modernity had come to Spain. The analysis aims to identify what kind of spaces were intended for that purpose. In this period a timid cultural openness begins. The formative spaces were quite limited and the only ones who remained were the programs focused on the divulgation of the Catholic faith. All these elements are no different from other European countries. The only exceptions were the newscasts, which maintained a tight control until the end, when morally controversial themes or criticisms to the Régimen were concerned.

1. Introduction

On October 28, 1956, regular broadcasting on TVE began. The television channel arrived in a Spain that was beginning to prosper after twenty years of misery. The Civil War (1936-39), the postwar, political revanchism and international isolation made Spanish's main concern that of covering their basic needs for two decades. Survival. The end of the economic autarchy and the plans for development put into action in the 60s, as well as the arrival of foreign currency coming from emigration, caused the Spanish economy to take off in the seventies (Tamames, 2005). During the official act of the opening of the airwaves, the director of TVE Programs and Broadcasting, José Ramón Alonso affirmed that television would start precisely on October 26, being the day of the Feast of Christ the King celebration and that the two purposes set forth by the directors at TVE were to "serve God" and "Spanish politics"[1]. In those years, television was the symbol of consumer society and social change (Montero, 2014). It was a good that appeared as a luxury item, it's price being unaffordable for most of the population[2], with very limited programming in time and space. There were only three hours of daily programming and its signal arrived only to Madrid and surrounding areas, during its first months (Antona, 2016). In less than a decade, the number of televisions in households multiplied exponentially[3], broadcasts covered almost the entire day (except at night) and the signal was received in the majority of national territory. Moreover, a second channel was added, La 2 (in 1966), and thanks to international agreements, TVE had access to the content of the Eurovisión Network and could connect via satellite with the other side of the Atlantic (Baget, 1992). Television in the seventies represented the change in a new generation of Spanish that grew up as part of that consumer society. At the end of the 60s, the authoritative dictatorship was preparing for the political continuity, given that logically there would have to be a successor for Franco (Montero, 1998). Within this context, this article will focus on the final stage of television during this period that is called Late Francoism and that symbolically begins with the swearing in of Juan Carlos de Borbón at the beginning of the National Movement and his designation as the successor of Franco on July 22, 1969 before the courts.

In this context, the new communication media was a very powerful tool in terms of the public opinion. The objective of this article is to analyze if television was a tool of service of the Regime in this political movement. This article verifies if TV had the mission to shed a favorable light on the continuation of the Regime and to perpetuate the values that the State stood for: the Military, the Church, the family and the traditions[4].

1.1 Background

Television in Spain evolved in the first decade, as well as its context. On one hand, the technical advances, like the arrival of recording equipment systems that facilitate recording, that now do not have to be in real time (Palacio, 2001) like in the beginning. Also the very experience of the employees, as well as the arrival of new professionals like Narciso Ibáñez Serrador and Valerio Lazarov (Baget, 1992) little by little helped the medium achieve the status of other European channels. Politics was a different story. In the 60s, the end of the economic autarchy and international emigration (causing the arrival of foreign currency) helped the consumer society take off little by little (Montalbán, 1973). The evolution of television is a symbol of this change: society begins to take hold of capitalism, but continues to be cautious of a personalist military dictatorship, that is in its final stages.

The chosen object of study is the programming listings, as a first source, between the years 1969 and 1975. The programming is the dialogue that the network maintains with its audience (Gómez, 2003), for which it is necessary to analyze all the elements that make up this dialogue, in order to determine to what degree the spaces that try to influence public opinion are relevant due to their presence on air. This investigation will encompass three key variables that are framed in the composition of the television offerings: the weight of the television offering made for propaganda purposes, the time of day in which they appeared and the type of programs they were. The latter will be focused on the themes of the broadcasts found in the listings.

The initial hypothesis of this study is that the official message of the television during Late Francoism was to show and demonstrate that modernity had arrived to Spain. In other words, it was a message aimed at extending the idea of political continuity and its normalization.

The person in charge of putting these new ideas on television was Adolfo Suárez[5] after his arrival to the General Director's Board of RTVE between 1969 and 1973 (Baget, 1992). The television of the 70s has a very established programming model, resulting from the very evolution of the medium that thanks to the technological advances and the training of the workers, it adjusted itself to the tastes of the audiences (Antona, 2016). Thus, the second hypothesis is that Late Francoism was not, at least not exclusively, a tool of service for the dictatorship, but rather is the result of the implementation of the new medium of communication in a society and, in essence, is very similar to the development process of many coetaneous networks all over Europe. Thus, the initiatives that exalted the values of the Church, the State, the family and tradition were minor and consequences of Spain's own idiosyncrasy.

Having clarified this point, the objective of the work is to determine to what degree the programming of the last years reflected the Spanish political situation: a country that had experienced thirty years under a personalist military dictatorship that was irremediably in its final stages due to the health problems of the Chief of State, but that was trying to be perpetuated by the naming of Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón as successor.

In regards to a study of programming, two levels of analysis can be established. The first is that referring to the composition of the listings, which programs are included, when are they shown and their relevance at the time of showing. The second is that which delves into the program content. This study is focused on the first level. Nevertheless, the study has listed bibliographic references in order to give a an idea of the type of programs (especially those of fiction) that were broadcasted. Finally, the history of the programming can (should) be completed with the audience profile. This study has included primary sources in terms of reception.

2. Argument

The television message, programming, is supplied with in the reception (Fiske, 1997: 40). For this reason, each program can mean different things based on not just the receptor, but also the time of day at which it is seen, given that each one of the viewers will interpret what he or she sees based on his or her own ideology, beliefs and experiences. Thus, the first level of analysis must detect at what time of day shows are broadcasted in order to determine to which type of viewers they are directed.

There is no data in terms of real audiences but there are opinion polls published that were carried out by Spain's public opinion institute (Palacio, 2001), and its official newspaper, *Telediario* (*Tele Radio*, as of 1960), that from the beginning of television inquired as to what television viewers thought about the medium and its programming[6].

This study is unique in that in the traditional studies of the past on Spanish television, researchers have focused on political (Vázquez, 1973; Munsó, 2001), cultural, and economic aspects (Bustamante, 2013; Palacio, 2001). And sources of information used for these past reviews were based on, on many occasions, memory and bibliographic review, not on analysis of primary sources (from Baget, 1992 to Lorenzo Díaz, 2006, among many others). The study of programming has an original focus for Spanish researchers. There are works that have used the listings as a source of analysis. For example, there are the partial approximations of the programming (Gómez-Escalonilla, 2003) and of a limited period of time (Carreras, 2012). There are also others that have addressed transversal issues like sports (Bonaut, 2006), bull-fighting (De Haro, 2016), game shows (Moreno, 2014), documentaries (Cabeza, 2013) and children's programming (Paz & Martínez, 2013). This study falls within the Television Studies framework and aims to provide an epistemological model of historical reproduction that can be used in future investigations.

3. Methodology

This article has used the analysis results of the published program listings, taken from and focused on three print media: *ABC, La Vanguardia*, and *Tele Radio*. The result is a database of all the TVE programming shown from January 1, 1969 to November 20, 1975. The start date marks the beginning of the period analyzed by complete year, although the official designation of the succession did not occur until June. The end of the sample corresponds to the day of Franco's death. All programs shown have been classified into three categories that coincide with classic TV functions (Camacho, 2005): inform, entertain and disseminate. This investigation will focus on the programming that belongs to the dissemination and entertainment categories. Informative programming and those shows dedicated to current events at the end of the 60s represented practically 25 percent of total broadcast time (Table 1). Nevertheless, in order to determine in what ways informative shows served as a vehicle of political propaganda, it is necessary to carry out an analysis of their content, which deserves a separate study[7]. Either way, it will always be done via a partial approximation, because only (some) parts of the programming are saved, not the filming of these shows. Censorship and the informative control that TVE experienced until the end of the dictatorship is beside the point. Thus, this article will only address some types of entertainment content (whose category had approximately 63 percent of broadcasting time) and that of the dissemination programs (with 11 percent). Distribution of time was not equal during each period, and is reflected in the following table:

Entertainment and dissemination categories have been divided into types of programs[8]. Within the dissemination category there are documentary, cultural, religious, educational and training programs. This study will focus on analyzing the total programming of the time slots in this category between 1969 and 1975, with special attention on those of training and education. In addition, the themes of cultural and documentary programs will be analyzed.

On the other hand, within the entertainment category, general themes will be analyzed (located via the bibliography, or online databases) of the national production programs: made-for-television shows as well as films broadcasted on TV. Initially, we searched for a show that would have aspects contrary to the traditional Francoist perception of society, based on tradition or religion or culturally liberal (like adaptations of works or cinema from filmmakers that at another time in the dictatorship had been banned) in order to determine if its presence is representative or on the rise, or isolated. Nevertheless, the programming search results were negative. Then, after the bibliographic review, common lines of arguments were identified in fiction (family content, local everyday life, focused on the upper-middle class) and a specific time slot with original script of TVE whose initial purpose was the dissemination of El Fuero de los Españoles (1945): *Crónicas de un pueblo* (1971-1974)

Graph 1: Percentage of Category Distribution 1969-1975

Source: Author, based on information from ABC, La Vanguardia, and Tele Radio.
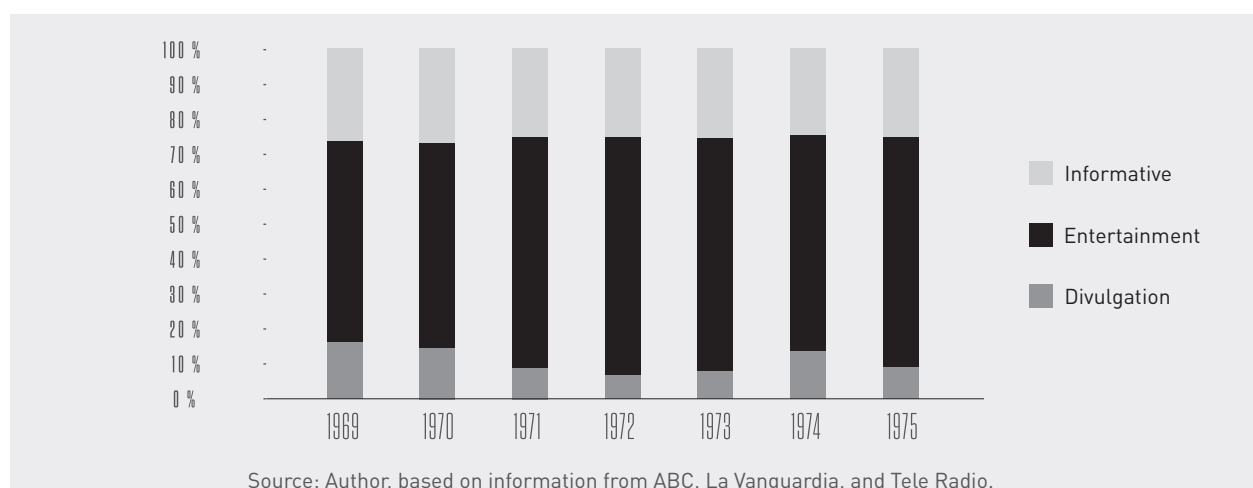
Table 1: Types of Broadcasting in Each Programming Category and Variables Analyzed

Foreign Fiction Series	Foreign production series	Not analyzed
TVE Fiction	TVE Productions: Spanish dramas and series	Thematic
Non-series Fiction	Mostly full-length films	Thematic and nationality
Game Shows	Broadcasting in which there is a competition to win a prize	Not analyzed
Performance Shows	Variety shows, comedy, realities, dance, folkloric and magazines	Not analyzed
Musical	Spaces with live or recorded music and acting	Not analyzed
Children's	Programs specially designed for young children and teens	Not analyzed
Sports	Replays of sports	Not analyzed
Bull-fighting	Replays of bull-fighting, training fights, running of the bulls, etc.	Not analyzed
Others	Spaces for entertainment that gave continuity to programming	Not analyzed
Documentaries	Both TVE productions as well as foreign films	Thematic
Cultural	Spaces for cultural content (literature, art, sciences, etc.)	Thematic
Educational	Programs of transmission of formal education, like language or reading classes	Program Analysis
Training	Spaces for non-formal teaching and transmission of moral, civic, and religious values. In addition to military and religious replays.	Program Analysis

Source: the Author

Two types of thematic variables have been chosen. There are those that exalted the figure of Spanish tradition, for example, through the past glories of the Spanish Empire, or by way of the advances and achievements of Spaniards, and via the exaltation of military and historical successes. On the other hand, searches were done in fiction for topics that the 1966 Law of Press established as censurable. Specifically, there are three ideological discourses contrary to the Regime that were searched for when determining these spaces: any issue that affected sexual morality, that attacked the dogma of the Catholic Church or offended its representatives, and finally, that undermined the political principles of the Regime or challenged its institutions.

4. Religion and Patriotism as Pillars of Propaganda

Within dissemination spaces there are two variables that represent the political content of Francoism: the first of them is the use of the Catholic faith as a channel of indoctrination in spaces of religious formation hosted by Monseñor Guerra Campos in the 70s (Peñuelas, 2004). The second is the use of television as an education tool, which had the mission of orienting and educating the viewer on his role as a citizen. The common trait they share was public service, understood from the perspective that television serves a vital role in promoting the values[9] on which the State is based. The training spaces throughout this period are classified into four sub-categories: spaces for women (which taught them about cooking, fashion and what was expected of them as a daughter, mother, and wife[10]), for young men (who were offered useful lessons for the future, guidelines to follow and even forms of recreation), mature men (related to military topics and the internal functioning of the State[11]), citizens services and religious teachings, which are practi

cally the only ones that remain in the TV program listings as of 1970. In other words, one of the first changes made at TVE after the arrival of Suárez was the elimination of programs of propaganda, although religion continued to be shown on TV. At the end of the 1970s, the *Las instituciones* (1974-1975) space was introduced weekly and its mission was to explain the political functioning of the State to Spaniards. This is an example of legitimization and normalization of the political situation that was to be continued after the death of the dictator, who was already very sick at the time.

During the period of analysis, the Catholic Church began a process of differentiation with the Regime of Franco initiated by Juan XXIII and continued by Pablo VI, whose right hand man was Vicente Enrique y Tarancón, who starting in 1971 presided over the Spanish Episcopal Conference[13]. Nevertheless, from the Spanish Church, there was a deep-rooted support of the personalist dictatorship by Guerra Campos, among others, who was also the president of the RTVE Religious Programing Advisory Committee until 1973. He himself was behind spaces like *El octavo día* (1972-1973) that criticized all aspects of freedom that the new minister Pío Cabanillas advocated. Nevertheless, not all religious spaces have such a pronounced "continuist" tendency. During those years was the premiere of the program *Ronda familiar* (1972-1974), by Jesuit scriptwriter Antonio Sobrino. This show was hosted by Ángel Losada and Maribel Trenas. It was shown after dinnertime on Friday evenings and, like its predecessor, *Ojos nuevos*, it was a *tele-magazine* of religious themes. In the year 1974, it was replaced by *Pulso de fe* (1974-1975) by Salvador Muñoz Iglesias. The religious theme was completed with *El día del Señor* and the Sunday mass that aired afterwards. The rest of the television in the final stage of Francoism corresponded to festivities like Easter Week or daily prayer spaces like *Un momento por favor* (1974).

The arrival of Suárez also marks the disappearance of educative spaces, those that taught formal, lessons, from the TV programming. Throughout the 60s, the afternoon had a reserved two-hour time slot for the *Bloque Cultural*. In it were language lessons (both in English and French, appearing from 1958 to 1967 with different show names), general cultural spaces (on various topics), master classes of college professors (*Universidad TV*, 1959-1964) and programs with clearly educational content (*Academia TV*, 1962-1964; *Escuela TV*, 1961-1963; and *Bachillerato TVE*, 1963-1965, among others) and even

reading and writing (*Imágenes para saber*, 1966-1967). The last was *Televisión Escolar* (1968-1970), an initiative of European nature which TVE copied from other networks like RAI that was shown in the morning in order to complement tradition schooling. From Monday to Saturday, math, language, nature and science educational content was shown so viewers and students in their respective schools could tune in and follow the show.

Cultural spaces in the 70s, which were very numerous in the previous era –taking up close to 5 percent of all broadcasting time between 1958 and 1968 (Antona, 2016)-practically disappear (2 percent on annual average, although between 1971 and 1975 they barely made up 1 percent of total broadcasting). The cause was directly related with the adapting of TV content to the medium itself. Shows with a talking head became obsolete and culture was channeled via other formats, such as documentaries, which enjoyed their golden age during this time. In terms of their themes, historical (*España, Siglo XX*, 1970-1973, and *La huella del hombre*, 1969-1970) and ethnographic (*Raíces*, 1974-1975) subjects were very common in documentary series (Hernández, 2008) produced by TVE. Although their time slot in the TV listings would make you think they were well received by the public, they were never as popular as those of nature, which was the leading type of documentary series in the 70s. The person who was in charge of bringing the environment into the living rooms of TVE viewers was Félix Rodríguez de la Fuente[14].

Patriotism and the celebration of everything considered "Spanish" as an aspect of admiration in the final stage of Francoist television can be found in *Lo que va de siglo* (1968-1969)[15], a show which celebrated Spanish culture in the 20th century via the reconstruction of testimonials and images filmed for the occasion or taken from archives. During this season *Pueblos de España* also premiered. Also called *Pueblos que dejan huella,* (1968-1969) this program showed ethnographic themes that the Caro Baroja brothers brought to TVE in the mid 70s[16], dedicating one episode to a Spanish town. Nevertheless, it was not very successful given that it had very few showings. The ethnographic documentary returns at the end of the 70s with the show *Raíces* (1975) a documentary series by Manuel Garrido Palacios, which portrayed the customs and traditions of Spanish towns and cities. The historical documentaries that address national history were those already mentioned *España*

siglo XX and *La huella del hombre*, in addition to *La noche de los tiempos* (1971-1972) and *Tiempos de España* (1975). Reconstructing, in the first case, the country's history from the War of Cuba to the date of broadcasting, in the second, the culture and, in the third program, anthropological origins. *España siglo XX* and *La noche de los tiempos* were well liked by the public, as shown by their positions in the TV listings. In addition, in 1972, they shared the Ondas Award for best cultural program. *En Tiempos de España*, written and directed by Ricardo Blasco, reviews the recent history of Spain in episodes that divide the period studied chronologically [17]. The use of patriotic exacerbation is not exclusive to divulgation. These patterns are also found in entertainment.

5. Entertainment as a Reflection of New Airs of Freedom

When talking about propaganda via entertainment, the first thing noted is the celebration of sports triumphs and their acknowledgement as achievements of the State, media events that are thoroughly discussed by the Bonaut bibliography (2006). The most traditionally used example is the celebration of the games won by the soccer team Real Madrid and the triumphalism with which the State waved it in the face of the Spanish people and also abroad. Replays of soccer games was used as a symbol in front of the audience: the best vehicle in which to portray the capabilities of new technology were games in which Real Madrid played against their top rival, Barcelona[18], to show that the connection between Madrid and the *Ciudad Condal* were established and the games of the successful team of Real Madrid with Di Stefano[19]. Nevertheless, soccer was not the only sport that served in terms of patriotic exaltation. During the entire period, the Spanish triumphs in sports were shown again and again (Bonaut, 2006:285)[20]. This was done, firstly, in order to show the world the virtues of Spain. Secondly, it was done in front of the Spaniards as an opportunity for them to celebrate together. Thus, Spanish sports triumphs reinforced the idea of a nation.

Fiction also served de throughout TV as a vehicle for transmitting the message that change was on its way, although the attempts at this were quite anecdotal on the first channel. Full-length films shown were the most popular, destined for a larger and more heterogeneous public. On the second channel, La 2, they showed, among other things, productions that had experienced commercial or censorship problems during their premieres, including, many times, in their original versions (Martín, 2015).

The showing of full-length films on TVE competed, from the beginning, with those shown in the movie theater. Therefore, what TVE broadcasted during the 60s was very influenced by this dispute (Gil, 2014). They were very old films and very few Spanish films[21]. In the 70s, television had already defined which content fit best in the programming and the fiction series was the pillar of entertainment. Films continued to be content that, although still well liked by the public, arrived very late compared to those showing in the theaters. Thus, little by little, both media began to collaborate and feed off each other. In fact, more Spanish cinema began to be shown on TVE. In *Hoy presenta*, the title used to announce the Thursday night movie, tried to make television "more Spanish" by incorporating Spanish movies. American movies were the most shown according to TV listings[22].

Starting in 1971, Spanish cinema was shown more thanks to the organizing of film series that were programmed into the Saturday afternoon listings, as well as at night. This season was the one in which most Spanish movies were shown on TVE, with a total of twenty films organized into two specific series: a series of Marisol[23] in Saturday afternoon programming of the same year and another of Spanish comedies with names like *Deliciosamente tontos* (Juan de Orduña, Spain, 1943), *Los dinamiteros* (José Isbert, Spain, 1962) and *Atraco a las 3* (José Mª Forqué, 1963). Despite Spanish cinema being enormously popular, the dispute between TV and movie theaters did not allow for including more domestic movies on TVE (Zahedi, 2014). At the end of 1971 and the beginning of 1972, there was another series of Spanish cinema in which eleven films appeared in the programming, including *Doña Francisquita* (Ladislao Vajda, Spain, 1952), *La nao capitana* (Florián Rey, Spain, 1946), *Locura de amor* (Juan de Orduña, Spain, 1948), *Jeromín* (Luis Lucía, Spain, 1952) and *Garbancito de la Mancha*

(José Mª Blay, Spain, 1945) the first full-length Spanish cartoon film and the first in color of all Europe. All these films had quite patriotic themes, praising the best of the product and national history. In 1974, during the denominated *Primavera del Aperturismo*, the Programming Board was led by Narciso Ibáñez Serrador, a professional that had already brought modernity to the production of fiction with works like *Historias para no dormir* (1966-1968). One of the most surprising additions to the TV listings was a new series of Spanish cinema in which there was a movie by Juan Antonio Bardem, marked for his past support of the Communist Party (*La muerte de un ciclista*, 1955) and Carlos Saura (*El Llanto por un bandido*, 1964, film that included the collaboration of the exiled Luis Buñuel). The third movie to be shown, also a little controversial, taking the context into account, was *La tía Tula* (Miguel Picazo, 1964), a free adaption of the work by the same name by Miguel de Unamuno, which narrates the internal struggle of the main character with his desires in order to preserve the ruling strict morality. After Ibáñez Serrador's resignation in June of that year, the Spanish series continued, but with less controversial films.

As for fiction, in terms of the general context, it is necessary to refer to the foreign production series. From 1957, TVE showed productions that portrayed how different the world outside was, although no change could be found to explain the propagandist reasons for the films chosen to be broadcasted on TVE. The majority of them are family-oriented and do not feature themes subject to moral controversy. Reasons have to do more with the distributer supply and the demands of the audience. American Westerns like *Bonanza* and *The Virginian* and detective shows like *El Agente de C.I.P.O.L.* and *Hawaii 5.0*, as well as comedies were among the most liked programs by the television panels of *Tele Radio*. In addition, children's programming in the 70s, which grew to have more and more presence on TV, now followed a purely-for-entertainment model. There would be no new initiatives like *Jardilín*[24] or *Lección de ocio*[25], in which, to a certain degree, children were treated like small adults that should be raised as much as possible with certain values, like productive usage of time (Paz y Martínez, 2013:305). In the 70s, shows like *La casa del reloj* and *El Gran Circo de TVE* were widely popular, the latter being among the top positions of the television panels[26] and its broadcasting was extended,

using different names, but with the same protagonists, until the 90s.

In terms of national fiction production, in the 70s, the dramas and the TV series were already clearly differentiated. The first, corresponding to literary adaptions, in some spaces like *Cuentos y Leyendas* (Fernández, 2010:315-316) and *Los libros* (Fernández, 2010:184), via the great classics, some scenes were shown of poverty, corruption and inequality, a social critique thanks to the adaptation of literary works. This permissiveness was a way of showing the audience a reflection of freedom (Baget, 1992:301).

In the production of Spanish fiction with original script by TVE, content was above all family-oriented, with arguments that had to do with daily issues that were very local and very familiar to the day-to-day life of Spanish society, in many ways to urban society, and set in the present. In summary, these spaces offered a pleasant view of reality, almost always with a happy ending for the purpose of entertaining the spectator with many scenes based on dialogue, located indoors, that didn't contribute to the plot. At the beginning of the 70s, there was *Crónicas de un pueblo*, a space whose origin was openly for the use of fiction as a vehicle to transmit the values of the Government[27]. The script was based on the *Fuero de los Españoles*[28]. Nevertheless, the absence of rural contexts in national fiction made up until this point, and the increased know-how of TV production technicians, as well as the new techniques used (Canós, 2015), are two of the main reasons that won the wide approval of audiences. In other words, it is not possible to determine to what point the series indoctrinated the public or simply entertained it. In fact, we must add that the society of the seventies had strong ties to the countryside. Despite the growth of cities, increased emigration of the 60s caused many people to that were born and raised in small towns, to live in the city, and see their childhood portrayed on television. It's also important to note the "reality effect" that came from the characters, dialogues and plots, and the ample use of outside settings, much more numerous than in the domestic productions shown until then (Rueda-Laffond, 2006:15-16).

6. Conclusions

Television in Spain, despite the political context of the time, underwent a development and consolidation process mainly based on the capability of the media itself. In other words, the political motives were just another circumstance that affected the implementation of television, and the fact that some of the contents clearly showed the promotion of certain values, like in the case of the spaces of Guerra Campos, and when they showed movies and themes that wouldn't make it past the censorship; which was strictly enforced until the end of Francoism. From the main results of the research it is concluded that there are no elements that would indicate a profound change in TV programming. In fact, the first piece of evidence is that no program was found that went against national Catholic values. Common practice in TV programming was to avoid and manage themes that could "displease" the Government. This content was expressly established, in the 1966 Law of Press, which eliminated (among other things) prior censorship. Starting with the arrival of Adolfo Suarez to the RTVE management in 1969, there is a stabilization of monopolist television of general nature whose main intention is to entertain, despite not forgetting its informative labor as service to the audience (another topic is which type of information was offered and which was not, or to what extent it was manipulated and made to serve the State). But it is possible to determine whether it was included in the TV listings: one fourth of broadcasting minutes were destined to information.

The training mission of television adapts to the medium and therefore to the very entertainment it provides. TV spaces no longer have a radiophonic format, but rather use audiovisual resources to reach audiences more effectively. The structure of the programming is modern (Antona, 2016) and with content that is easily predictable for spectators.

What is true is that the appearance of spaces like *Las instituciones* and *Las Cortes* were timid efforts on behalf of the government to make Spain's anomalous political situation in the 70s seem normal. The same goes for initiatives like *Crónicas de un pueblo*. Despite being conceived as a product that attempted to promote the *Fuero de los Españoles*, the medium itself was able to dilute the space in a flow of programming that was ultimately looking

to satisfy. The television of the 70s was focused on entertainment. If that entertainment tried to deviate the attention of spectators from the political and social problems (Vázquez, 1973), that's another discussion and is not included in the objective of this research study.

What can be concluded is that the objective of the programming as a flow –*television flow* (Williams, 2003)– of TVE, was not the direct exaltation of the Franco Regime, but rather to primarily satisfy the audiences. During the entire period, the Government's relationship with the media was one of ideological control, to a lesser or greater degree (Sevillano, 1998), with prior censorship until the previously mentioned Law of Press of 1966. Public television of an authoritative state[29] would not allow showing of certain content (direct or indirect criticism of the regime, and also in this case, neither could they show themes that undermined Christian morality, given that it was a Catholic State[30]). This does not mean that television was an instrument of service of the regime, used to alienate spectators, given that the Theory of the Hypodermic Needle was overcome, even in Spain. In the 70s, there had already been a generation of TV viewers that had grown up with television. Therefore, the hypothesis held, that the official message of TV during Late Francoism was to show that Spain was on the same level of development as the rest of the European countries, is very subtle. With the data collected, it is not possible to conclude that it was one of its principle missions. Yet neither can it be ruled out that it was of political interest. What is possible is to state that propaganda initiatives were not very frequent in TV programming. Themes that favored Catholic values or that disseminated the Catholic faith were present until the end of the study period. Nevertheless, spaces related to the exaltation of the regime were very few: military parades and speeches by Franco on New Year's Eve. However, there were audiovisual spaces dedicated to the celebration of national pride and Spanish culture. But this "continuist" spirit was dissolved in TV functioning.

Themes or spaces that could be considered morally inappropriate or even critical of the regime were broadcast covertly via the classics and/or those set in other historical periods. In terms of a discovery made with this research, it was identified that the most open initiatives, culturally-speaking, are limited on the first channel to specific isolated initia-

tives, like the Spanish cinema series broadcasted in 1974.

The State used this official medium to send messages and transmit certain doctrine on what the Francoist government wanted society to accept. One example is the Catholic morale and doctrine. But the general tendency was more about action that omission. In other words, the topics that could not be shown and the critiques that could not be broadcasted were very established and TVE avoided them. Faith was just another element, belonging to TVE but not exclusive. Both Ireland and Italy also had TV minutes reserved for religion and for content created by religious institutions and in both cases the government was democratic (Menduni, 2004; Savage, 2010).

The increase of entertainment on TVE at the beginning of the 70's happened similarly on other European TV networks of the time. Its main purpose was to attract audience (Antona, 2016). In other words, it was a general tendency that has been called the "ideology of development" (García-Delgado y Jiménez, 1998. It is based on the myth of Europeanization, understood in terms of assimilation of the level of quality of life and consumption among Spain and its surrounding countries (Rueda-Laffond, 2005). In this sense, television was an element in which standardization with European patterns was possible.

Relative freedom in the choice of some authors in fiction shows (García, 1980), especially in the productions that adapted classic scripts, served to navigate, to a certain degree, the norm that the dictatorship implemented but always shielded by other time periods, other realities. In general terms, TVE directors knew what to and what not to show, and thus they limited themselves to non-controversial themes that were oriented to the family and daily life without political implications.

Notes

1. Statements collected by *ABC* (October 30, 1956, pp.41).

2. In 1965, only one third of the Spanish population had a TV, according to surveys performed by the Instituto de Opinión pública between 1960 and 1964 (*Opinión Pública Jornal*. No.1, May-August, 1965, pp. 227) The reasons that the majority gave as to why they did not have a TV were economic.

3. From 25,000 TVs in 1958 to 3,897,000 in 1969. In Palacio, M. (2001). History of Television in Spain. Barcelona: Gedisa.

4. Francoism was politically characterized for its lack of ideology, although historians coincide that the ideological pillars on which the regime was built were these. In Montero, J. (1998). Spanish Political Constitutions and Laws, 1808 - 1978. Barcelona: Ariel.

5. After Franco's death, Adolfo Suárez replaced Arias Navarro as President of the Government in 1976 and was one of the key people in the Transition. In the late 70's, Spain returned to democracy thanks to political changes taking place little by little in the country. In 1977, Suárez was elected President of the Government in the first elections held in Spain since 1936, year in which the Civil War began. He was reelected in 1979 and remained in office until January 1981, when he resigned and was replaced by Calvo Sotelo.

6. Starting with magazine number 21, it was announced that TVE would begin conducting telephone surveys on TV spaces with customers. Starting with number 23, a form was published regularly for several months with questions about the quality of the programs and basic information on the audience. Although the information gathering systems of the audience were rudimentary and intermittent, their mere existence shows the network's concern for users. These initiatives were carried out during the entire period, although it wasn't until the 70's that they were published regularly in national newspapers, like *ABC* and *La Vanguardia*, in addition to the network magazine.

7. This study also was faced with the challenge that no recordings of the news were kept, as indicated in Julio Montero et al. (coords.): "Francoist TV magazines. An investigation on the sources" in *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, Volume 69, pp. 152-175, 2014. This article uses parts of broadcasts that contain topics discussed and videos used, although there is no record of the news itself, making it impossible to analyze their informative bias.

8. The term genre of television is not used because we have tried to preserve the essence of programs just as they are announced in the media. In addition, some typologies have been created like in the case of the training programs, shows that do not have their own conception of genre, but rather represent various programs and different content. All were conceived in order to instruct the audience on the values of the State, Catholicism and education that from the Feminine Section of Falange, women were taught: how to sew a button and decorate a house.

9. These values have been classified and picked apart in Pulpillo, C. (2013). "Origins of Francoism: The Construction of the "New Spain" (1936-1941), doctoral thesis, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos.

10. For example, *Para vosotras* (1963-1964), and *La hora de la mujer* (1958), *Decoración* (1958), *La moda* (1958) and *La música y la decoración* (1958). These are feminine programs understanding this femininity as the image that the State, in general, and from the Female Section in particular, tried to instill in women and society. It's also important to mention *La soltera y su oficio* (1960) and *Hogar, dulce hogar* (1959). Another example to this respect is *Seis mujeres en la vida de un hombre* (1964) which explained the role of mother, wife, sister, daughter, etc., that every woman represented.

11. Like in *Por tierra, mar y aire* (1964-1971), *Las Cortes* (1967) and *Las instituciones* (1974-1975).

12. *La carretera es de todos* (The Highway Is For Everyone, 1967-1968).

13. The following link is to a report from the newspaper *El País* which tells how part of the Spanish Church decided to separate itself from Franco's politics: http://elpais.com/diario/2007/09/13/sociedad/1189634413_850215.html

14. The survey in the magazine *La Actualidad española* (1974), appearing in the *History of TVE* (1986), op. cit. pp. 95-96, states that the Spaniards rated Félix Rodríguez de la Fuente second place on this list of most relevant TV stars, just behind *Los Payasos de la Tele*. In 1970 and 1971 he was in first place, fourth place in 1972 and second again in 1973.

15. Shown on Thursday evenings at the last broadcasting time.

16. With the project *Conozca usted España* (1966-1969), although the minister Fraga Iribarne was able to introduce the promotion of tourism to the country as the original idea. Pío Caro Baroja. (2002). "Memories of a Documentary Filmmaker: Stories of the Old Dear" Pamplona, Pamiela, pp. 150 and Santiago Aumesquet Nosea. (2004). "The Ethnographic Documentary in Spain: Pío Caro Baroja" Pamplona, Government of Navarra, pp. 50-51.

17. For example, in July 1975, broadcasts of *Tiempos de España* were: 6/07/1975: *Spain compared to postwar Europe*: 1916 - 1921; on 13/07/1975: *Spain compared to postwar Europe*: 1916 - 1921 (II); 20/07/2015 *Spain in search of a Solution*: 1921 - 1923; 27/07/1975 *Rise of the dictatorship*: 1921 - 1927.

18. On February 15, 1959, it was transmitted live and caused so much expectation that TVs were sold out in Madrid.

19. On March 18, 1960 the first international transmission took place: the second half of the game between Eintracht of Frankfurt and Real Madrid; in which the Madrid team won its 5th Europe Cup. The first program was transmitted live from Spain to the Eurovisión Network, it had taken place a few days earlier, on March 2, and also had been a soccer game between Real Madrid and Olympique of Nice. For the occasion an antenna had to be installed at the last minute to send the signal to France, as told by *La Vanguardia*. The day before, the very technicians didn't know for sure if the connection was going to be possible. "It's impossible to be sure, given the complexity of the adjustment of the links, if this connection will take place tomorrow, but it is a really important step for the enterprising TVE" in *La Vanguardia* (01/03/1960), pp. 19.

20. The author uses a table to show a summary of the minutes for each discipline between 1960 and 1975. Soccer is the clear winner, with 72,358 minutes, followed by basketball, with 27,817 and cycling, with 25,526, all of them being disciplines with great victories.

21. Between 1967 and 1969, there were 344 movies shown on the first channel. Only 20 of them were Spanish productions.

22. Approximately 85 percent of the full-length productions were American.

23. Marisol was the stage name of an children's actress and singer that became a star in Spain during the 70s, appearing in works like *Un rayo de luz* (Luis Lucia, 1961, for which she received the award for best children's actress in the Mostra de Venecia), and *Ha llegado un Ángel* (Luis Lucia, 1962), among others (Blanco, 2004).

24. A space based on the American television series *Romper Room*, directed at small children. The objective was that they learn "to be good" and for such they used *Señor Si,* who was a smiling bumblebee and *Señor No* was an angry bumblebee

25. It offered different ways to spend free time productively, directed at young people.

26. For example: in *La Vanguardia*, November, 24,1974, p. 82, *El Circo de TVE* appeared as the second top rated program, as well as in *La Vanguardia*, April 8, 1975, pp. 57, in which it also appears in second place and is rated 8.4 out 10 by spectators.

27. Rueda Laffond (2006) states that it is a paradigmatic sample in the attempt to transfer to the small screen certain dominant keys of the Francoist imaginary. It is a product of entertainment guided by key ideological content. It was an original idea of the Vice President of the Government, Luis Carrero Banco. The main objective of *Crónicas de un pueblo* would have been to disseminate the concepts established in the *Fuero de los Españoles* via an exemplifying fiction story format. It was no coincidence then that the beginning of broadcasting of the series would take place on July 18, 1971.

28. One of the eight Fundamental Laws of Francoism that establishes a series of rights, freedoms and responsibilities of the Spanish population.

29. There is still discussion of the classification of Franco's Regime (Linz, 1978). What is a fact not open for discussion is that it was a military dictatorship, which infringed on many of the Spaniards fundamental freedoms: freedom of expression, to assemble, freedom of association and freedom of religion, among others. Nevertheless, Francoism is mainly characterized by its lack of ideology, although historians coincide in that the ideological pillars on which the regime was based were the Church and the Military, with the family and traditions as symbols (Montero, 1998). After the military uprising in 1936, Spain was immersed in civil war until 1939, when Franco's troops finally took the capital. During the dispute, the self-denominated *Bando Nacional* enacted the Decree of Unification (April 19, 1937) which banded together all the ideologies that the *Bando Nacional* stood for, trying to combine forces against the Republic. The regime established in Spain in 1939 (and that remained until Franco's death) maintained its political structure throughout the years with the Fundamental Laws, passed between 1938 and 1967. The General Law of Movement Principles, under which they were classified, as its names suggests, are the principles by which the Regime was supported (the unity of Spain, Defense of the Catholic Faith, etc.) was approved in 1958.

30. On October 1, 1936 (a few months after the beginning of the Civil War), Franco is named Chief of Government of the State of the territories controlled by the national side. His speech already proclaims it the Crusade in Defense of Catholicism. In 1945, Article 6 of the *Fuero de los Españoles* named Catholicism as the religion of the Spanish State.

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Web forum: a tool for analysing reception process of television historical fictions. *La Señora* as an example*

Foros en páginas web: un instrumento de análisis de la recepción de series de ficción históricas. El caso de La Señora*

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Resumen

El objetivo de este artículo es conocer cómo los espectadores interpretan las ficciones históricas televisivas y la relevancia que otorgan a sus elementos dramáticos. Se analiza la recepción de *La Señora* (2008-2010, La 1 de TVE) a través del foro oficial del sitio web de esta serie de época. Se examinaron los 5.423 comentarios registrados para seleccionar los 270 más significativos por la valoración que los *fans* realizan sobre los componentes narrativos (tramas y personajes) y sobre los aspectos históricos del relato (recreación). Las principales conclusiones demuestran que el espectador centra su atención en el triángulo amoroso argumental, dejando en un segundo plano los elementos históricos que únicamente valora porque aportan verosimilitud a la narración. Además, se aprecia una lectura del relato desde el presente lo que condiciona el enjuiciamiento de los personajes femeninos.

Palabras clave

Televisión; ficción histórica; audiencia; recepción; España.

Abstract

The main objective of this article is to know how audience decotes and understands television historic fictions and its dramatical items. The analysis is focused on the reception process of the period drama *La Señora* (broadcasted from 2008 to 2010 by the principal channel of the national Spanish television). 270 comments haved been selected from the 5.423 ones posted in the official web forum acording to its value about spectators'opinion in relation to the influence of the narrative objects of the story (plots and characters) and the lecture of the historic aspects inside the audiovisual product (context and art design).The principal conclusions verify: first of all, audience's main interest is the love triangle of the plot; secondly, historic elements remain on the background and they are only appreciated as a way of making the story possible; finally, spectatorsuse a present point of view which leads to peculiar interpretations.

Keywords

Television; historical fictions; reception; audience; Spain.

1. Introduction

Forums added onto TV series websites are the most rudimentary tool of all of a new technological scheme launched by networks to promote their products. The HTML code has allowed for the creation of websites 2.0 that are much more intuitive and that were quickly used as a second dissemination platform. The communication methods of the 30 and younger age group question, including the concept of prime-time to establish a specific type of behavior that governs the time dedicated a traditional media, the my-time (Tubella, Tabernero & Dwyer, 2008).

These websites give spectators a virtual space in which to gather, giving them the chance to stop being passive viewers and become passionate fans that enrich the product with the creation of other derivatives that go from the mere rereading of the texts (commentary on episodes and montage of alternative versions based on images broadcasted) to posting on the internet real encyclopedias[1]. A TV series lives on via the computer screen with blogs, making of videos, games, etc. Likewise, communication media implement channels (forums and social networks) to find out the opinion of viewers, considered experts on the matter (Barragán, 2013). Today, stories are multi-media.

The transmitter-receiver scheme begins to be a gross simplification compared to the push of the new forms of multi-screen viewing and Internet content distribution websites like *–YouTube-* that possess a many-to-many communication model. The process it has generated in the present situation demands the status of cultural revolution (Fiske, 1987; Tulloch & Jenkins, 1995). The boom of the series as an observable phenomenon in Spain's TV listings –it has been called the "New Golden Age" of fiction (Smith, 2006:12)- together with the particular portrayal of the historic discourse imposed by the specific nature of audiovisual language (Montero & Paz, 2013), makes it necessary to review the way in which knowledge –specifically, historical-, arrives, rolled into a dramatization, to the spectator and the way he or she interprets and incorporates it.

2. Status of the Question

The modification of the relationship between communication media and the public has become an important field of study. The majority of the publications are centered on the transformation of the spectator profile (Jenkins, 2006, 2008 and 2010). His behavior is compared to that of a citizen who, inasmuch as he assumes responsibility derived from participation, demands his right to a quality product (Rosique, 2010).

Transmediatic content constitute, in Spain as well, a constantly growing field of study. (Roig, 2009; Hernández & Grandío, 2011; Rubio-Hernández, 2011; Gómez, 2012). The work of Scolari, Jiménez and Guerrero (2012), Cascajosa (2016) and Chamorro (2015) comes to mind for focusing exclusively on the historical fiction series as the origin of these stories,

A second line of investigation is the parallel transformation of communication media: content production exclusively for new dissemination channels (web series), adaption of traditional formats to multi-screen (Cabrera, 2010) and new forms of commercialization (Meso & Larrondo, 2010). The first studies talked about the promotion of American fiction (Tous, 2009), but the purchase and later broadcasting of these products in foreign markets caused a review of the strategies used in the different countries and opened up the study of Spain's very own national fiction (Galán &Del Pino, 2010).

3. Objective and Methodology

This article is classified in this last line of action, focusing on analyzing the reception. Via the opinion of forum members, you can infer both their tastes and their expectations as well as evaluate the ability of TV to transmit historical knowledge to the population. The investigation of the context of reception and the reflection on the creation of meaning, key elements in the study of audiovisual products, are addressed from a theoretical and aesthetic perspective (Zurián, 2013).

La Señora is a period drama with 39 episodes (divided into three seasons), broadcasted between 2008 and 2010 during prime-time by the principal channel of Spanish public television (La 1, TVE). It narrates the love story between the youngest daughter of a rich Indian (Victoria Márquez) and a young man of lower class (Ángel) that, due to various vicissitudes,

is forced to become a priest. The action takes place in the Asturian mining town during the decades of 1920-1930, a tumultuous period in the history of Spain, rarely portrayed in cinema or TV.

The study of the forum of this fiction story –found on the official website of the broadcasting channel[2] – allows us to analyze: (1) the articulation of the dramatic elements of the narrative discourse and the inclusion of historical references that contribute a likeness to the period re-created; (2) the valuing of these aspects by these viewers; (3) the possible modification in knowledge of history after viewing the fiction series.

The initial hypothesis suggested that viewers focused their interest on the love triangle and considered the historic elements as part of the backdrop. However, their presence in the story could unleash an intellectual process that, via this particular investigation, would result in a greater knowledge about national history.

Choosing the forum as the object of study was determined by the embryonic development in which the transmediatic policy of Spanish Television was found at the time it broadcasted the series. As indicated by Agustín Alonso, Fiction and Projects Coordinator at TVE, the fiction series *Isabel* –premiered in September 2012- was the first to have a content diversification strategy (Cascajosa, 2016:64). Therefore, for *La Señora*, no Facebook or Twitter profiles were created –channels that have a higher communication flow and that, as a result, have been analyzed more in depth (Tur-Viñes & Rodríguez, 2014)- based on which a fan base would have been acquired. There were other forums on specialized websites (http://www.formulatv.com/series/ la-senora/foros/), but the examination of the official forum gives the chance to delve into the origin of the adaptation process of the previously mentioned new technologies. In this sense, the methodological proposals for the analysis of websites of fiction series by Hernández-García, Ruiz-Muñoz and Simelio-Solà (2013) have proven very useful, in addition to work done on creative tools offered by TV channels in Spain by Costa-Sánchez and Piñeiro-Otero (2012) and the study of the RTVE webpage by Arjona (2009).

The investigation was carried out in various stages. An in-depth bibliographic review was performed showing that, compared to the number of studies done on the new viewer and his or her actions, very little investigation had been done on the content of these derived products. Worthy of recognition is the study by Jiménez and Solís (2008) on the comments made on a promotional blog.

The forum study was used to corroborate the existence of the denominated *prosumer* (Toffler, 1980). A first database was created on the 5,423 messages posted that indicated the number of posts by each participant by thread/topic[3] and when they were made. Application of this quantitative tool allows for the examination of the degree of participation –comparison of the number of visits to the number of messages- and the change in behavior after the expansion of the Internet (the concurrence of the posting of the comment with the broadcasting of the episode seemed to be a multi-screen practice). In addition, another database was created with the personal information that could be inferred from the comments of the forum members[4]. The fields were: nickname, time and registration date, photo of the signature if there was one, location, sex, approximate age, profession and number of posts. The idea was to gather the largest number of profiles in order to crosscheck their socio-demographic characteristics with the TV channel target. Despite the website indicating that there were 22,548 registered users, as of the end of this work, only the existence of 361 participants could be proven[5].

Finally, the analysis of the reception of historical elements of the series required a careful, detail-oriented reading of the 5,423 forum messages in order to select the 270 most significant, whether for their evaluation of dramatic elements fundamental to story structure (plots and feminine characters[6]), for their comments on the characterization of the series (wardrobe and setting) or for the inclusion of historical content, whether they were important events (World War I), famous figures (Primo de Rivera and Benito Mussolini), and daily objects/ aspects in Spain during the 20s (electricity, telephone, cinema, traditions, etc.).

Each one of these 270 messages were studied separately considering that every opinion is an independent discourse created for the purpose of expressing the preferences or aversions to the TV product (Ang, 1985). Comments are left as is because spelling and punctuation errors denote a method of

expression and the education level of forum members. The sample selection guarantees the validity of the quantitative studies while the spontaneous character, non-directed and uninfluenced[7],of the opinions given make the forum an object of study appropriate for analyzing the reception.

4. Results

4.1. The Transformation of the Audience: The New Consumer

The first conclusion taken from the analysis of the forum corroborates that the member profile coincided with that of the target audience of the first channel of Spanish Television (GECA, 2005): woman (only 4.17% of the forum members are men), 40 to 50 years old, residing in urban areas and middle class (many of the members declared to be high school teachers or college and university professors and a good number were college students). This meant success for the series production company given that the fiction series was made for TVE, which was looking for a story featuring a female leading character, set in the 20s and designed to appear on prime-time TV[9].

The production was made for national television although there was a considerable percentage of viewers who followed the series from abroad, whether via the international channel of TVE or Internet (10.83%). The majority of these live in America (more than 51%), followed by Europe (over 23%). In both cases, the participants admit that the series gives them the chance to improve their Spanish.

The disparity between visits (255,625) and comments made (5,423) shows a low participation index: the average of the three seasons is 1.52%; which is to say, less than 2 out of every 100 visitors commented in the forum. Of the 361 profiles studied, 303 (83.93%) posted less than 10 comments and only 7 (1.93%) made over 100 comments: five of them made over 200 comments. The group that made between 11 and 20 comments had the highest number of members: 18 people that only represent 4.98% of the total. Therefore, forum interaction was basically reduced to the exchange of comments between a very small group of people that made the forum a place for socializing.

On the other hand, the study of threads allows for the establishing of a participation pattern. After the showing of each episode, the administrator opened a new topic: more than 30% of comments were received that same day and the activity was maintained until the starting of the next thread, regardless of whether or not it referred to that episode (Graph 1).

Graph 1. Participation Distribution by Percentage, Classified by Time

Source: the author
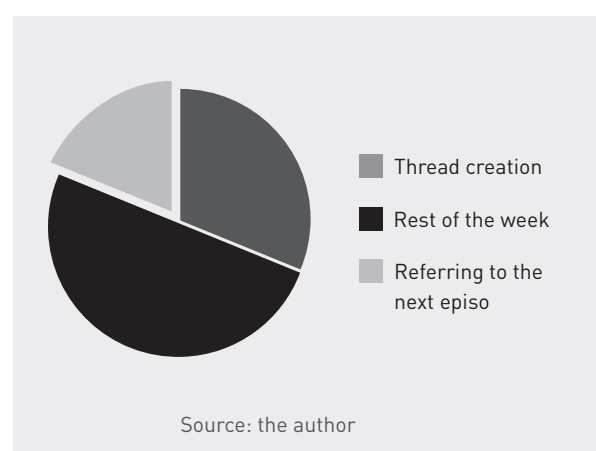
We would like to emphasize the number of comments posted during the 22 hours before the broadcasting of the next episode, including those that were posted during the hour and forty-five minutes that the show lasted (Graph 2). TV viewers feel the compelling need to share their impressions with the rest and we proved that some used various screens simultaneously during the process of reception.

Graph 2. Participation Before,
During and After the Showing of the
Episode, in Percentages.

6,34%   **1,20%**   **11,38%**

BEFORE THE SHOWING   DURING THE SHOWING   AFTER THE SHOWING

Fuente: Elaboración propia.
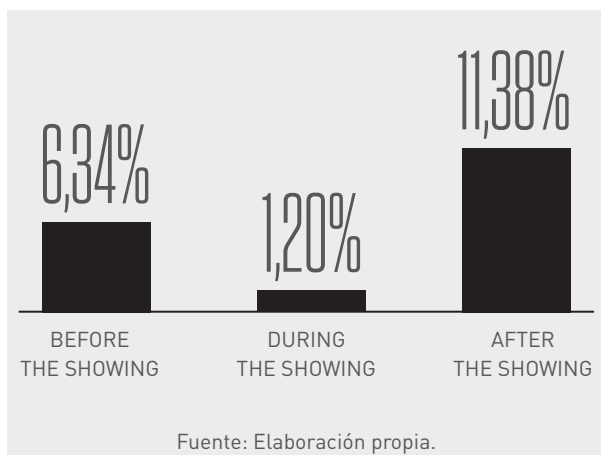
4.2. Valuation of Historical Context: A Story of Papier-Mâché

La Señora can be considered a "pastiche, period soap opera" (Mujica, 2007:22). These audiovisual products are characterized for staying close to the "surface" of the true story: they copy the look (the fashions, the appearances, the external elements), but they do not aim at explaining their internal causes. The idea is that the viewer recognizes what is shown, appealing to the popular imagery of an era via a collection of disconnected images. A historical time is recreated quite accurately but without it becoming the focus of the story: the context is a backdrop.

The wardrobe, the characterization, the setting and the locations are positively evaluated by the forum members as elements that give the series a historical value:

> As long as they maintain the rigor and historical and artistic accuracy of the set, costumes, historical and political events and documentary and instructive information … Hats off to the series (Turquesa, Episode 20).

> I would like to congratulate all those whose work goes towards making La Señora, especially those in charge of casting and setting, as well as the historical advisor. Together these aspects make for a REALLY believable show! (Button, Ep. 25).

Only a minority of the participants are able to pick up on historical errors and the majority of them also refer to characterizing elements. In Episode 35, a female forum member warned that the men's suits corresponded to tuxedos that became popular in the 70s (not in the 20s). Another indicated that in the third season, the suit of the papal legate was not one that would correspond to such person in terms of the ecclesiastical scale. Indeed, the forum members establish different levels of interpretation depending on the viewer's education (Montero & Paz, 2013).

Numerous daily props (newspapers, technological advances like the telephone, electricity and the gramophone) and others related with the customs of the time are used in the scenes. These details, which are completely anecdotal, are very appreciated by the audience, according to that deduced from the forum comments.

The historical references are not determining factors in the development of the plot, but they allow the viewer to establish a space-time framework. For example, the purpose of the name of the leading character's pet is to place the story in the reign of Alfonso XIII[9]:

> The era we are in: The Restoration, under the reign of Alfonso XIII. Here the monkey makes it very clear, a very daring comparison (he continues to be the grandfather of the current king). This king was not very politically inclined (it's important to remember that in that political system, the monarchs possessed a lot of power), and he preferred other things, like golf, hunting, and the cinema (huge fan of erotic films; as you can guess, my students love these little facts). I don't know the monkey's preferences (Anusqueta, Ep. 1).

When the idea of the divorce appears in the story, another common action of series viewers came to light: taking the events shown, they research them and their newly acquired historical knowledge, allowing them to better interpret references to the past.

> I wanted to make a comment about when Fernando tells Isabel that the divorce would be final soon, and she could be together with him. If they are in the 20s and 30s, the divorce law is not passed until 1981 (Rociogaditana, Ep. 38).

Divorce was approved in the First Spanish Republic. It was one of the advances of the time, that unfortunately was later lost (Caro, Ep. 38).

A divorce law was approved in 1932, during the Second Spanish Republic (Marian2046, Ep. 38).

4.3. Identification of Stereotypes and Historical Figures in the Fiction Story

The use of stereotypes is present in the construction of characters to facilitate the identification and la assimilation of content (Galán, 2007:73-78). The success of these figures depends on the viewer's ability to decode and associate them to real people that they have met or heard others talk about. Forum member recognize, among their relatives, the character of the housekeeper: an aunt, grandmother, nanny or servant –in either case, older women-, with dry, strict personality, that made sure her behavior was in line with established customs, people who are afraid of "what others might say" and careful of the family's reputation:

My grandmother worked in people's homes, in Asturias and Madrid, in the 30s. There reverence with which she always talked about "los señores" […] always caught my attention. She would have never even imagined that one of them would get involved with someone of a lower class (Kloca2, Ep. 3).

There was a "Vicenta" in my family, too. […] Fuensanta was the nanny of my grandfather and his siblings and even for his father (my great-grandfather. […] Fuensanta continued to work in the house, managing everything and taking care of the children (like Vicenta)… (Soley, Ep. 3).

These stereotypes are enriched by the reinterpretation that is done of each one of them in the new series or films: "Is it me or… does Vicenta seem more and more like Mrs. Danvers from *Rebeca?*" (Maruxina, Ep. 35). In other cases, the similarities between fiction characters and historical figures are so obvious that they suggest that one was used as the foundation to create another. The forum members see Encarna, committed to the political struggle, as similar to Dolores Ibárruri[10]; to Ventura, anarchist, to Buenaventura Durruti[11]; and Hugo de Viana, conservative that fights in the Rif War, with General Francisco Franco. The face-off between Hugo and his alter ego, his companion Fe-

rando Alcázar, who, for the love a woman becomes a simile of the military conflict stemming from the July 1936 uprising.

At first, viewers do not accept the presence of a republican soldier (in fact, the role of Fernando doesn't make sense to them), but, again, the forum is used to exchange information about this question:

I don't quite understand it all. Soldier and republican? Spy? (Forera7, Cap. 31).

He is a solider and republican. You see, at that time there were hundreds of them in the army. Republican doesn't mean that he has progressive ideas. There are also those from the right and at that time, they came together to overthrow the monarchy and give the people the ability to decide who they wanted to be governed by (Sí señora, Ep. 31).

Of course there are republican soldiers. In fact, the civil war took place due to a divide in the army. The rebels were pro-Franco (who without a doubt would volunteer and be led by Hugo de Viana) and the rest remain loyal to the Republic, that regardless of their ideology, was the law in Spain (Caramba, Ep. 31).

Interestingly enough, there are barely any comments in the forum about the appearances of real life characters (General Miguel Primo de Rivera[12] in Episode 9) in the fiction plot or the explicit references to politics and leaders of that era (Eduardo Dato in Episode 5 and Benito Mussolini in Episode 11). Nevertheless, some participants indicate to the socio-political context as an aspect that could and should be treated as an important sub-plot given that historical events affected the characters:

They could still go a lot further with it. You have to remember that not only is there the sentimental relationship between the characters but also a historical plot that links these stories. If now they are in the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, the strikes in the mines, which were so important at that time, then the Second Republic will come with a leftist government that will have to move many pieces and then, etc. etc. All this also affects the lives of the protagonists (Raquel, Ep. 23).

If the plot continues and we move ahead in time, the politics and the events that come will make the ideals of Ángel and Victoria converge once again [...]. I can imagine Ángel (Why do I imagine him without his robe?) with the workers again, with Salvador, with an idealist and combative Encarna and against the authoritarians Viana and Castro (Borealis, Ep. 31).

Actually, the historical aspects subtly suggest: as in *Romeo and Juliet* –paradigm of stories of forbidden love – where differences in class are only addressed because they impede the relationship between the young people (Balló & Pérez, 1995; Tobías, 1999). Basically it shows an unjust society in which the higher strata hoard wealth and power thanks to the support of the church, while the lower groups try to organize an emerging workers' movement:

[Ángel] Is a victim of a confined society, that sees the lower classes as sinful, but among the bourgeois they are free to do what they wish. (We shall see what happens next. God helps those who help themselves.) Well, I'm not going to go any further, because I get upset and very critical of current society and the church (María Jesús, Ep. 26).

Therefore what is given in a very basic simplification of the Spain's social situation. Moreover, in this series, the origins of the workers' movement takes place in the first 30 years of the 20th century (Government of Primo de Rivera/advent of the Second Republic), when the execution of the workers' movement leader José Barceló, after 10 days of general strike in Barcelona in July 1855, shows the importance and the pressure these groups put on industrial regions like Cataluña at the end of the 19th century (Ben-Ami, 2012; Casanova & Gil, 2009; González, 2005). In fact, the expansion of anarchy and the founding of the Socialist Party occur between 1860 and 1875 (Tuñón de Lara, 1997).

The Second Republic is shown as the natural result of social and political progressiveness. It acquires the connotations of a utopic paradise where the ideals of justice and well-being are carried out. Likewise, the Spanish Civil War is presented as the result of the clash between the most conservative sectors of society and those in favor of change (Chicharro, 2009:67). In other words, *La Señora*, the ultraconservatism (Hugo de Viana) opposes the action (represented by the women: Victoria Márquez and Encarna). The causes of the conflict are simplified and reductionism is preferred:

I hope that the series, with that jump that supposedly they are going to do in 5 years, that you can see the proclamation of the Second Spanish Republic and thus be able to oust the Marqués and put an end to the social classes. Unfortunately this will occur only until 1936 due to the uprising of the idiots of Africa (Sashenka, Ep. 29).

I'm really passionate about the subject of the Republic, and at the same time saddened by it. So many hopes, so many dreams, and so many dirty moves by the usual suspects, to end up worse than before the 31, You already know how! (Anusqueta, Ep. 37).

The creation of a romanticized version of history based on the dramatization and simplification of the argument, the adaptable treatment of past events and the appeal to the memory or personal experience of the viewer via the most recognized elements of scenery are typical ways to proceed in the stories of historically-based fiction (Edger-ton, 2001). The majority of the viewers, given their age, do not have any recollection of such time and accept what is shown on screen:

What I see in the script that is very interesting is the sharp criticism and ALMOST disdainful view of the society of such time, in which the difference in class was so abysmal that strict justice was only for the poor (Gusiluz, Ep. 26).

In any case, they interpret the version offered by the series from the current reality and conclude that nothing changed with the advent of the Second Republic and that the social differences remained, because in the end, everything comes down to the struggle between the rich and the poor:

I haven't lived in through any republic, but my father did. He lived through the entire Second Republic. The only thing I can see is that the poor continue to have it bad and that the nobility kept their belongings, that the Church, as bad as it was treated, managed to save its moral power over the majority of this country...The conclusion I am getting at is despite whichever government is in power, whether its a king, president, or authoritarian political leader... The poor will always be poor and those who have the most will continue to accumulate money and power (Onga, Ep. 33).

Despite forum members giving more importance to the love story of the protagonists, they admit that the series is a source of historical knowledge and

that it gives them the chance to learn more about a period of Spanish history:

> Although I'm not Spanish, this series is really addictive. Plus, it helps people understand how people lived back then with their rules, clothes, etc. (Aila, Ep. 30).

> Yesterday was the case of the uprising of the angry soldiers that proclaimed the Republic (one of them was Fernando). Perhaps any history student would say the same, but all this takes me to a similar situation that is close, yet far away at the same time. And I love it! (Dafne, Cap. 37).

4.4. Valuation of the Dramatic Plot: Love, Before All and Above All

The analysis of the forum shows, as explained, that the aspect of most interest and which results in the most comments is the love triangle on which the three seasons of this fiction story are focused. Such is the attention aroused that the multiplication of obstacles in the plot is considered a subterfuge of the screenwriters to make the series longer and affecting the valuation of its quality, bringing it closer to the reviled "soap opera":

> In the first seasons "La Señora" was not a soap opera. [...] But what we see now are few important stories and a plethora of subplots that are not developed in depth and it seems that their only purpose is to fill the time slot and make the season longer (Marine, Ep. 36).

In the third season, forum members denounce the appearance of plots similar to the main one as an attempt on behalf of the production company to keep the series going and prepare for its spin off:

> I think it is clear that if they are going to continue the series or the sequel the main characters will now be Carlota and the other Castro (I don't remember his name) since they are introducing them halfway through the last season and I think it's in order to continue (Pepeio, Ep. 33).

According to viewers, these stories negatively impact the narrative rhythm of the episodes:

> The general pace of the episode has come to seem a little slow to me, the story of Carlota and Antón is shoved down our throats and the main characters are forgotten about (Guadarrama, Ep. 35).

For the protagonists of the main plot, an epic finale is required that corresponds with their suffering. In other words, there has to be a happy ending that restores the balance between the Good and the Bad:

> We all need a happy ending in which justice and love is served, for dramas there is already telediario (Button, Ep. 25).

> And as for the finale, I ask whoever it is that is in charge that it not be a tragedy, we've been watching this drama for many episodes now. Victoria and Ángel a dignified, happy ending together (Borealis, Ep. 37).

However, some fans defend the adding of sub-plots, because they consider that they enrich the series and lighten the dramatic load on the main story:

> I like that there are so many secondary characters and parallel plots, because without them it would be just another romance saga (Ping, Ep. 37).

> I think that the fact that it is not completely focused on the story of Victoria and Ángel and that it told us the feelings of Encarna, Vicenta and barmaid and in such a brilliant way is one of the best things about this series. Way to go, scriptwriters!, (Dafne, Cap. 37).

The majority of the sub-plots are romantic and repeat the trite love triangle scheme which shows that, as previously mentioned, the conception of *La Señora* as a melodramatic soap opera.

4.5. Interpretation of the Feminine Characters from the Present: Strong, Free Women

The woman is the absolute protagonist of *La Seño-ra*. Some 51.85% of the characters that appear on the official website of the series are women of every type and status: from the nobility of Irene de Castro, subject to her husband, to Conchita, the maid that gives up her a spot to work in the brothel of Alicia Santibáñez because she considers it to be a faster and more effective way to reach a certain economic level. Such diversity of stereotypes helps the feminine audience identify with the characters.

The construction of gender via audiovisual stories constitutes an important field of investigation. From the classic studies of Gerbner & Signorielli

(1979), Greenberg (1980) and Gunter (1986), establishes a transformation in the representation of the woman to include fundamental aspects of their social evolution such as their incorporation into the workforce (Ortego & Simelio, 2010; García, Fedele & Gómez, 2012) and their sexual liberation (Capdevilla, Tortajada & Araüna, 2011; Nogales & Martín, 2010). However, the recent study by Mateos-Pérez & Ochoa (2016) corroborates that the updating of feminine characters in TV fiction comes in more stereotyped representations according to the melodramatic tones of the stories. Likewise, these authors coincide in indicating the influence of the production's historical context in the structuring of the content and the creation of gender of the characters (Menéndez, 2014).

Traditionally it is considered that soap operas provide women with role models to guide their behavior and portray as positive certain ways of thinking and acting (Chicharro, 2011), which favor the strengthening of their roles as wives, mothers, and housewives. Nevertheless, feminist and cultural studies have questioned this idea by affirming that watching series is in a way of rebelling and subverting the hegemonic models of the patriarchy (Brown, 1995; Blumenthal, 1997). Commentary made on feminine protagonists show that the historical context is not considered and interprets women much more than men, from the present. In general, the woman is seen in a positive light given that she symbolizes progress in the face of conservatism:

> Victoria is growing by the minute and becoming such an advanced woman for her time, a fighter, relentless.... with a series of characteristics that make her even more attractive as a woman and a character (Raquel, Ep. 19).

The conformist and submissive attitude is rejected, it is ridiculed and even suggests metaphoric punishment, in the case of TV fiction. It is equivalent of not achieving the dramatic objective:

> On one hand I think that [Victoria] deserves the end up alone, her blindness for with the marquis is already so long that i can't understand it. But I give her a margin of faith (Borealis, Cap. 31).

> The title "La Señora" does not fit this series [...] because you would think it refers to someone with a strong character, firm, inviolable and very realistic [...] like what started in the first season [...],

but with these 2 seasons that we are seeing, she's not like her at all [Victoria]. Now, she doesn't pay any attention to anyone, she's just there for her husband (Borealis, Ep. 31).

In other words, viewers want and ask for a strong, firm woman according to the values that are currently considered positive. Dignity and kindness are the moral qualities of a great woman:

> La Señora has become a great woman. Leaving things well resolved in the mine, preserving the legacy of her father in favor of the workers, they have realized the greatness of their boss lady. The conversation with Gonzalo, in which she didn't go down to his level and demonstrated that she has a heart, showing the moral distances with her husband. And with her true love, Ángel (Sofía, Ep. 39).

Also well received are the feminine characters whose struggle takes place in the effective realization of their political beliefs. In this case, loyalty to certain ideals is emphasized:

> Encarna, magnificent as always. She certainly knows where her place is. Despite now being the Mrs. of the Marqués House, she is loyal to her beliefs and her companions an has not become interested in participating in the social circle of Victoria (they are a family, if she wanted to go to the parties of the marquis, she would. But no, she is in the tavern, with those from before) (Soley, Cap. 33).

The analysis of Alicia's character –a brothel owner- brings up information on the social consideration of this collective. In general, the Madame is admired for being firm in her convictions and audacious in the struggle ("Alicia is wonderful, a strong woman, courageous, firm, intelligent, full of life and the will to get ahead", Annita80, Ep. 34). Nevertheless, her ethical integrity is in doubt ("Alicia cannot continue her old profession. She doesn't care when it comes to being aroused into sleeping with her daughter's fiancée... but what difference does a drop in the ocean make?", Mechi, Ep. 37). Nobody asks why she can't find love in her life. It is implicitly understood that only a decent woman deserves it. On the contrary, it is considered fair that she fight for her daughter. At the same time, her character makes her the ideal person to carry out vengeance that is not just admissible, but rather applauded:

I loved the way Alicia exited the hospital, I hope she uses all her strength to get her daughter back (Irune, Ep. 31).

Alicia has to rise from her ashes and do some "boo boos", lots of "boo boos" to Mr. Marqués de Castro (Onga, Ep. 30).

Modernity is positively valued although it is only limited to the external appearance. Forum members applauded that Isabel de Viana would put pants on, play tennis, and drive an automobile, without it bothering them that it indicates love as the motor of this gender transformation.

[Isabel] has come along really well, just opposite of Victoria, from a really conformist girl without interests and has become a modern woman, independent and intelligent, finding a intermediary commitment in her life but at least living out her true love (Raquelita, Ep. 33).

Extramarital affairs are accepted if they are based on true love, but it is preferred that female characters are developed in the arms of their legal and official partner:

Isabelita has always been in love with Hugo, and if she gets involved with Fernando, it is because she is disappointed and alone and needs a little bit of happiness, but, now that Hugo seems to be in love with her, what will Isabelita do? (La monaguilla, Ep. 29).

The later scene where Hugo and Isabel laugh together, I loved it! and that "I want you" from him... seemed so sincere... A long time has had to pass for him to love his wife ... And that is what she really need before starting with Fernando... (MallorK, Ep. 35).

It can be deduced, therefore, that the majority of the viewers want traditional dramatic development. Despite the comparison that they make with the characters of today, they support the idea that the maternity and family life constitute a woman's happy place (González & Núñez, 2000).

5. Conclusions

The study of the forum found in the official website of the series *La Señora* has demonstrated the validity of this tool as a primary source in order to inquire about the process of reception of TV fiction. The analysis showed that for the participants the most important aspects are human conflicts, specifically, finding love. Impossible relationships due to social differences and love triangles are very well received by viewers, especially because, in the latter, there is no doubt as to who should win.

The moral qualities of the characters are noted: the audience praises strong women, with energy, and the ability to react, and who are faithful to their beliefs. There is a clear extrapolation of the values and characteristics of current society without being overly concerned with the characteristics of the historical context of reference. Nevertheless, there are gender-specific aspects that are traditionally condemned (prostitution and infidelity) and destinies associated to gender that do not seem to change: the family as a necessary framework in order for the woman to reach happiness.

The comments from this forum show that viewers reinterpret the different plots and characters according to their personal experience and cultural baggage, where cinematographic and television codes continue playing a very important role.

The historical value of the series is of little concern. What really awakens interest is the appearance of the past: the dress, the set, the objects, the locations and the customs at that moment give the narration realism. Veracity is not offered, but rather likeness: as long as the setting seems credible, the characters and their actions –that are really the carriers of the meaning – can be incoherent with the historical reality (Rosenstone, 1997). In general, the audience does not possess knowledge of these years and is easily satisfied.

History is not explained. Important events are simplified and everything done is both cause and consequence. History becomes a closed story that admits no alternative interpretation. For example, in *La Señora*, the 20s are shown as a moment of latent conflict between progress and tradition that, without a solution for continuity, will lead to the Spanish Civil War. On the other hand, structural problems are personalized in individuals; insomuch that the attainment of the dramatic objective

is identified with the resolution of these conflicts. Thus, the triumph of Ángel and Victoria likens to the abolition of the differences of class.

As has been shown, there are certain periods of our recent history that are systematically idealized in fiction TV (Second Republic) leading to an interpretation of those later events (Civil War) that is very poor. Unfortunately, viewers do not criticize this and are carried away by the sentiments brought on by the narrative. The forum members make it clear that history represents, in this series, only an aesthetic that differentiates *La Señora* from the most popular soap operas and series, a varnish for the main plot (a love story) so that basic instincts (jealousy, revenge, envy) seem more dignified.

Notes

1. See series website of *Lost, Fringe* and *Game of Thrones* (http://es.lostpedia.wikia.com/, http://es.fringe. wikia.com/ and http://hieloyfuego.wikia.com/, respectively).

2. Website: www.forolasenora.rtve.es.

3. Forum members barely provided personal information. Therefore, their sex has been deduced by their use of the feminine or masculine when referring to themselves and the only information considered is that which has been corroborated as valid (for example, a profession was only associated to one viewer after this person explicitly mentioned it in one if his or her comments).

4. It is possible that the number reported by RTVE is true given that forum content was public and of free access, without it being necessary to be registered in order to read the comments. But registration was necessary in order to participate.

5. Special attention was given to the relative opinions of the female characters because, from the production's website, the role of the woman in the series was emphasized (http://www. rtve.es/ television/la-senora/).

6. RTVE, the forum administrator, barely intervened: its actions were limited to opening a new thread after the showing of each episode and eliminating those comments that could be considered offensive. It is evident, therefore, that in no case did it direct the conversation or limit freedom of expression.

7. Personal interview of Virginia Yagüe, creator of the original idea and screen play coordinator, held April 10, 2014.

8. Alfonso XIII, Spanish monarch between 1886 and 1931, occupied the throne when he reached legal age in 1902 after the regency of his mother Maria Christina of Austria. He supported the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera and was forced into exile in Rome after the proclamation of the Second Republic in April 1931. He is great-grandfather of the current king, Phillip VI.

9. Dolores Ibárruri, nicknamed "La Pasionaria", was an important leader of Spain's Community Party (member of the Central Committee in 1930, general secretary between 1942 and 1960 and party president between 1960 and 1989). She had widespread public visibility during the Second Republic (1931-1936), was elected to Congress in 1936 and 1939 and carried out intense propaganda work during the Civil War. She went into exile after Franco's victory in the armed conflict.

10. Buenaventura Durruti, Spanish anarchy leader who in his youth was tied to the CNT, fought in the Civil War against the uprising Francoists and died from the wounds he received in the Battle of the Ciudad Universitaria of Madrid on November 19, 1936.

11. Military general Primo de Rivera governed Spain under a dictatorship between 1923 and 1930. The overthrow of the government that brought him to power had the consent of the monarch Alfonso XIII.

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Young people in Facebook: emptiness and apathy in the social network

Universitarios madrileños en Facebook: Vacío y apatía en la red social

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Resumen

Desde que a principios del siglo XXI aparecieran las primeras redes sociales online, estas plataformas no han dejado de crecer hasta formar parte de la vida diaria de millones de personas en todo el mundo, principalmente de los jóvenes. Sin embargo, ¿sabemos qué comparten en ellas? La presente investigación estudia la actividad que tienen los jóvenes universitarios madrileños en *Facebook*. Los datos que se presentan son el resultado del análisis de 250 perfiles. Se trata de una metodología encuadrada dentro de la etnografía *online*. Las conclusiones ponen de manifiesto que los jóvenes parecen no tener problema en compartir su edad o lugar de origen, pero se muestran reticentes a dar a conocer cuestiones más personales, como su orientación sexual. Y, aunque la interactividad es uno de los sellos distintivos de los nuevos medios de comunicación, los usuarios de las redes sociales pasan una cantidad considerable de tiempo sólo contemplando a otros.

Abstract

Since the first online social networks appeared in the early XXI century, these platforms have not stopped growing, and now are part of millions of people's daily life worldwide, mainly young people. However, do we know what they are sharing in these spaces? This research studies the activity on *Facebook* of students from Madrid universities. The data presented here are the result of the analysis of 250 profiles. It is a methodology framed within the online ethnography. The findings show that young people seem to have no problem with sharing their age or place of origin, but are reluctant to disclose more personal issues such as sexual orientation. But most important es that while interactivity is one of the hallmarks of these new media, users of this social network spend a considerable amount of time just watching others without doing anything else.

Palabras clave

Facebook, medios sociales, redes sociales online, jóvenes, nuevas metodologías.

Keywords:

Facebook, social media, online social networks, young people, new methodologies.

1. Introduction

Interactivity is one of the main characteristics of the web 2.0, to which online social networks belong. Since its beginning in 2004, Facebook has emerged as the leading website of this type of service, with currently over 1.7 billion active users. Nevertheless, what Facebook considers as "activity" could be misleading. In social networks, active users are users that access their account. This investigation aims to find out if activity really exists, or in other words, if the users actually do more than simply log in. The study group is made up of college students in Madrid and the methodology chosen in the quantitative analysis of 250 profiles chosen specifically for academic purposes. Results show young people do not have a problem with sharing personal information with the rest. However, their activity is mainly limited to observation.

2. Context and Discussion. Activity of Young Adults on Facebook

Facebook was born as a service for college students and, thanks to them, grew to have over a billion users. Nevertheless, it is starting to have a problem specifically with the sector of the population that made it so popular. Young adults today no longer find it appealing to share their opinions, ttexperiences, and pictures of their private life on this social network. In fact, while presenting the company's results in October 2013, David Ebersman (CFO) admitted for the first time that there had been a decrease in the number of active users among the youngest sector of the population (Oreskovic, 2013). Facebook is not only losing users in this age group, but in addition, those users who stay connected are rarely active.

However, this trend is no novelty. It is a common behavior in other environments. In 2004, psychologists of the University of California analyzed the behavior of young people in online forums related to health and sexuality, and proved that the majority of the young people entered the forum only to observe (Suzuki and Calzo, 2004).

In 2009, an investigation from the University of Georgetown confirmed this behavior on social networks (Pempek, Yermolayeva & Calvert, 2009). Via surveys and the tracking of logbooks on behalf of a determined sample of users, they discovered that,

despite the diverse ways to interact offered by the social network, the majority of them remained passive. Some 69.6% of students at this private university logged in to Facebook to see the profiles of others during the week that they tracked their logbook, 58.7% did it to see pictures, and 54.3% to see the latest news of their network of friends. It seems that the photograph constitutes one of the main interests of young people on the social network, girls being those who posted the most content of this type (Lenhart & Madden, 2007).

Likewise, the study "*Why most Facebook users get more than they give*" revealed that only 20% to 30% of Facebook users make intensive use of the social network (2012). These are "active users" (Brandtzaeg & Heim, 2011) those that post links, upload pictures and tag, comment and click "like". The rest observe and, every so often, contribute content. One would think that those users who have been on the social network longer are those that have the least activity because they may have grown tired of it, but analysts did not find a direct correlation between the time that people have been using Facebook and their amount of activity.

Use also doesn't seem to change over time. In 2008, investigators at the University of Michigan showed that, throughout three years (surveys were given in 2006, 2007 and 2008), the main use of Facebook to keep in contact with people they met offline (Lampe, Ellison & Steinfield, 2008). No change was detected regarding the perception of the social network. The majority of users surveyed said that Facebook is a fully integrated part of their lives and that, in general, it proposes no problem to them. They conclude that, although there are modifications, they are not drastic, and are mainly due to changes in the social context of users and, to a lesser degree, to the changes in the functions that the social network introduces periodically.

The academic community was fascinated with the study of Facebook during 2011 and 2012. The social network never stopped growing and its usage was at one of its all time highs. In fact, some researchers (Schou, Torsheim, Brunborg & Pallesen, 2012) started to develop scales to clinically detect addiction to Facebook. Nevertheless, two years later, other works (Ryan, Chester, Reece & Xenos, 2014) recognized that although the use of Facebook can be habitual, there are no conclusive results would lead to it be considered an addiction. More recent investigations (Maier, Laumer, Weinert &

Weitzel, 2015) indicate that indeed there are users that feel a certain stress from excessive use of social networks, and in order to mitigate it, have to discontinue use of these services.

In terms of the real use by Facebook users, in 2013 Reynol Junco published an interesting paper that compares the results of usage time obtained by two different methods. The author indicates that the large majority of investigations related to Facebook usage are done using techniques like the survey, in which users are those who say how much time they spend on the social network. Is the time they say really the time they spend on the website? Via a monitoring software of online activity, results obtained often differ from those declared by users. In other words, the reliability of investigations that use this type of technique could become questionable. Users could not be spending as much time on the social network as previously thought.

There are few investigations dedicated to the study of real activity of Facebook users. Therefore, the objective of this investigation is to analyze the activity young college students enrolled at colleges and universities in Madrid carry out on this website. The importance of this type of investigation lies in the main role these websites are playing in the daily life of this population segment. Knowing whether the young people are really using them could be useful to know in which direction new communication models are going to college students in Madrid given that this is a population that has a stable frame of sample reference and is easily accessible, factors that are of utmost importance so that the sample could be truly representative. The individuals studied coincide with those observed in the majority of the investigations carried out in this field of study, as can be seen in the works cited on the status of the issue in the introduction of this article.

Of the total sample, 65% are women and 35% are men. In terms of the colleges at which they are enrolled, both public and private colleges are represented, with a majority attending public colleges. Contrary to other investigations whose sample has been obtained from students from one or two colleges (Ayala, 2012; Elgueta, Loreto & Riffo, 2009; Gómez, Roses & Farías, 2012; Monge & Olabarri, 2011), the idea here was to include all the university centers of Madrid. The distribution of profiles per academic establishment is shown in the table below (Table 1):

Table 1. Percentage of the Sample According to College/University

UNIVERSIDAD	PORCENTAJE
UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE DE MADRID	58,3%
UNIVERSIDAD REY JUAN CARLOS	18,9%
UNIVERSIDAD AUTÓNOMA DE MADRID	4,9%
UNIVERSIDAD POLITÉCNICA DE MADRID	4,4%
UNIVERSIDAD FRANCISCO DE VITORIA	2,9%
UNIVERSIDAD DE COMILLAS	2,9%
UNIVERSIDAD DE ALCALÁ DE HENARES	2,4%
UNIVERSIDAD CEU SAN PABLO	2,4%
UNIVERSIDAD CARLOS III	1,9%
UNIVERSIDAD EUROPEA DE MADRID	0,5%
UNIVERSIDAD CAMILO JOSÉ CELA	0,5%

Source: the Author

3. Methodology

The data presented here is the result of the analysis of 250 Facebook user profiles belonging to young college students in Madrid. All of them form part of a network of contacts of a profile created specifically for academic purposes. In other words, all the subjects observed were informed that they were being included in an investigation and they gave their consent to be so, which is necessary for any ethnography study. The study is limited Data collection was carried out by classifying the information gathered from the profiles by the following variables: sex, birthdate, hometown, sex of interest, language spoken, current relationship status, school enrolled in, high school, companies worked in, groups of friends that they belong to, email, mobile number, "like" (music, books, movies, television, games, sports, teams, activities, etc.), third-party applications that are connected to Facebook, games they play on the network, the number of friends they have and the pictures they have uploaded (profile, cover, total).

In addition to analyzing 250 profiles in terms of the fields previously mentioned, user activity was tracked for two weeks in order to know within what limits their activity fell and what they shared specifically on a day-to-day basis. The period students were tracked were June 1 - 15 and June 17 – 30, 2014. The data, therefore, represents a snapshot of the relationship that these young people had with *Facebook* before the rise of other networks like *Instagram* and *Snapchat*.

Activity was classified into the following variables: pictures uploaded to the social network (of themselves, with friends/partner, with family, of animals, jokes, of places, others), status (mood, a quote, related to politics, to college, to work, a reflection, a joke, current issue, where they mention their friends, others), interaction (comments, comments on pictures, "likes" on photos, "likes" on others, "likes" on pages), shared links (music videos, funny videos, other videos, current news, interesting news, blogs), interaction with others on the timeline (photos, links, videos, mentions, congratulations, comments) and friends added. Finally, there was a particular interest in knowing the following of communication media via Facebook. Thus, also counted were the number of newspapers, television, magazines and radios that the observed users looked at via this social network, during the period of analysis.

The problems with method that came from this type of investigation had to do with the changing origin of both the sample as well as the environment. Some subjects (in the case of students from Universidad Alfonso X El Sabio) recruited on the profile as friends opted out during the period of the study. In order to maintain the same representation per college, we had to search for an individual with similar characteristics, who was not always found.

Conclusions reveal that young people seem to not have a problem sharing their age or hometown. However, they seem to be reluctant to share more personal information, like sexual orientation. And, although interactivity is one of the hallmarks of the new media communication, users of social media spend a considerable amount of time observing others.

4. Investigation Results. Snapshot of Young College Students in Madrid

Young people share a wide range of information about themselves on social networks. In fact, these sites are designed to encourage information exchange and network expansion. Nevertheless, few young people adopt a totally open, public stance. In other words, the number of college students that fill in all the personal information fields that Facebook provides is very small.

Date of birth is one of the first bits of information that Facebook requests when creating an user profile, given that it does not allow for the registration of users under age 13, or 14 in the case of Spain due to current laws that protect personal information. Although it is a required piece of information, you can hide it. However, 92% of sample subjects left if public. Hometown is also public in 90% of cases. Thanks to it, we know that 41.7% of sample subjects are from Madrid, 47.9% are from other communities, and 10.4% are from outside Spain.

The most personal information, like sexual orientation, is the least specified. To the question: "Who are you interested in? Women, men or women and men?", only 36.9% of the sample responded. Of the 63.1% who didn't respond, the majority were women (55.3%). Of those who did respond, 82% of men responded they were interested in the opposite sex and 18% in boys and girls; no one put that they were interested in the same sex. On the other hand, 75% of the women who answered this question were interested in men, 20% in men and women, but in this case there were responses (5%) of women who were interested of their same sex. This information indicates that women are a little more uninhibited when revealing their sexual interests outside of what is considered traditional today.

The same trend is present when sharing their relationship status (37%). Of the sample, 17% are single and 13.1% are in a relationship. This relationship is stronger in only 1.9% (engaged). There are also those who are married (1.9%), while 2.9% define their status as "it's complicated". It is not common for users to make public the languages they speak, although this is probably not due to wanting to hide it but because they do not speak other languages. English is, undoubtedly, the language most spoken, regardless of sex: 23.3% of the sample speaks this language (Graph 1).

Graph 1. Languages that Young People Speak According to Their Facebook Profile

Source: the Author
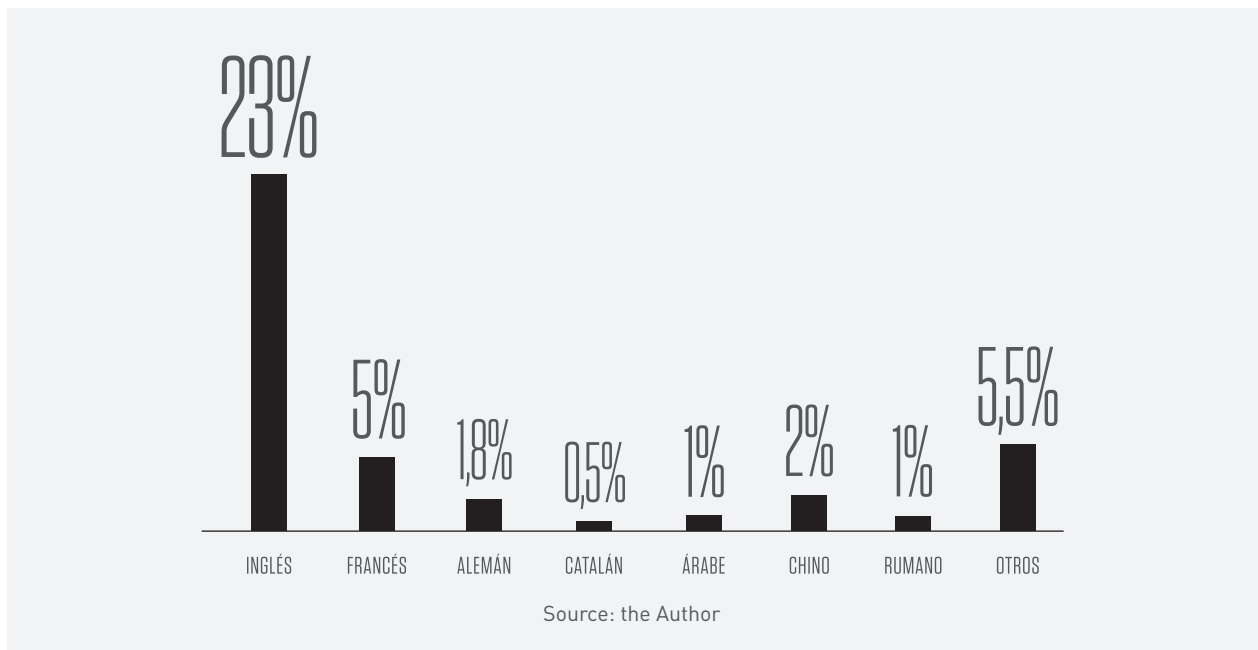
A slightly higher percentage (32.5%) publicizes the name of the company where they work. This percentage is due to the fact that many of them do not work given their age. There is 19.9% who have worked in a company, but there are also those who have worked in two (6.3%), three (3.9%), four (1.9%) and even in seven (0.5%). Many of these companies are clothing stores, coinciding with the reality seen on the streets where many dependent young people work in these stores.

They are proud of the institute or high school that they attended given that it is a piece of information that most publicize. Only 26.2% of the sample did not respond to this question. It seems logical: some of their friends come from this phase of education and it also represents a period of awakening in their lives.

In regards to contact information, email address and cellphone number, the results are conflicting. Some 85% of young people give an email address. However, it is the account with the Facebook.com domain, which is rarely used. On the other hand, their cellphone numbers are not posted: this information was only given on 7% of profiles. They consider that the telephone is for exclusive use within their closest circle and that its use is separate from the social network.

The image is without a doubt one of the most important aspects for young people on Facebook. Some 99% of the sample has, at least, a profile picture and 86.4% has a cover photo. Profile pictures are the most common: on average, young people have 21 pictures of this kind, while they only present seven, as an average, on the cover. By sex, women have double the average number of photos that the boys have in the section referred to as profile pictures (26 compared to 13 photos), as well as cover (nine compared to four). In total, young college students in Madrid have uploaded to Facebook an average of 460 images since they first logged on to the social network, this number being slightly for the women (504) and slightly lower for the (381). The majority of the young people in the sample joined Facebook in 2009. In other words, the average number of images uploaded correspond to four years of activity within the social network, 115 photos a year. For a generation for which "the visual" is so important, it is not a very high average.

Facebook is used to share tastes in music, although it also features movies seen TV programs watched. The social network provides a series of categories for the users to classify and share their tastes in a way that is organized and easy. The categories that Facebook provides are: music; books; movies; Television, where they include both programs and channels; online games that connect with the we-

bsite so that users can compete with their friends that play. There are virtual spaces all the way from farms to quizzes, including the genre of battles and taking care of pets; athletes; teams, from all types of sports; activities; and others. In the latter, there are all types of pages, from political parties, famous people from all walks of life, restaurants, to silly pages such as "Old Women Who Cut In Line At The Supermarket" and "I have also sung the song 'yo soy español, español, español' when I have spent too much time listening to Erasmus".

The young people analyzed have shared on average more information in the sections of Music, Movies and Television during the period analyzed (Table 2). Variables with fewer elements are games, athletes, teams and activities. Despite what one might think, young people do not show much public interest in sports, neither participating in them nor watching them, nor is books, despite being college students.

These users integrate external services within Facebook. The most common are Instagram and Spotify. The first of these is a photo sharing social network, and the second, a music social network. It confirms, once again, that music and photo sharing are of particular importance to young college students. In other words, it has been revealed that this collective prefers active leisure over passive leisure (high culture, reading, press, etc.).

Table 2. Average Number of Elements that Appears in Each Category of "Like"

"ME GUSTA"	MEDIA
MÚSICA	21
PELÍCULAS	9
TELEVISIÓN	8
LIBROS	3
DEPORTISTAS	2
ACTIVIDADES	2
JUEGOS	1
EQUIPOS	1
OTROS	146

Source: the Author

According to Facebook data, 260 million users play some game on the social network (Oreskovic, 2013). In fact, its revenue coming from games increased 18% compared to the year before. Contrary to what one might think, young people do not represent the age group that plays the most on Facebook. Analysis results show that profiles show an average of one game. The most played game is the popular Candy Crush, a variation of "tic tac toe". You have to consider that games, on Facebook, are successful due to trends. Tons of users have taken care of virtual pets, farms, and now are playing with candy. This is regardless of gender, given that games seem to fascinate young people of both sexes.

In regards to the number of friends, the average is 320 friends, but in this case, the men outdo the women: 369 to 297. This difference coincides with the different research done proving that men have better social skills, mainly as a cultural legacy to a sexist education (Encabo 2003, Cardozo et al., 2011, Cohen et al., 2011, & Juárez et al., 2010).

Some 2% of the sample over 30 has the least average of friends (105). However, the number does not increase as the age decreases. Young people between 27 and 28 have an average of 520 friends, but those that are 21 and 22 show an average of 256 friends. The youngest, those that are 20 years old, have 412 friends. Therefore, there is no direct relation between age and the number of friends on Facebook.

What is seen from the profile analysis is a snapshot of young people that carry out a series of actions to manage the limits of their privacy on social networks. Far from being indifferent, they are aware of what they post. However, their main objective and the motivation to post content is often to transmit a certain image to their audience, their network of friends, college classmates and family.

They are young people who do not have qualms with sharing personal information, but they are careful with the most private information such as their sexual preference. College students in the sample are a reflection of a society in which the audiovisual dominates. Taking pictures, thanks to the ease with which their cellphones let them, is one of their main forms of expression. The other sense they use frequently is hearing. They don't just listen to current music, there are also young people who prefer to listen to classical music, including *la copla*. There is less variety in the television pro-

grams they like, the majority of them being series, and many of them comedy. These details reveal the characteristic personality of the majority of young people: fun, happy, don't play sports and reading is not included in their cultural activities.

4.1 Comments and Pictures Are Young People Really Feeding the Social Network?

A clear trend that results from this analysis is the lack of symmetry in activity on Facebook. In general, sample users received more than what they gave in terms of content shared on Facebook. Results suggest that, although the majority of the sample showed to be barely active during the 2-week period of time, there is a group of users that are disproportionately more active. These advanced users represented between 10% and 30% of the sample of young college students depending on the activity. In other words, users tend to specialize: they are more active in one particular aspect of Facebook. For example, some are very active at uploading photos; others changing their status or sharing links. Only 1% of users show to be very active in all these aspects. It is this group of intensive users in each activity that explains why the average

number of contributions per user to the social network seems higher than it really is.

Just as has been seen in the profile analysis, the image is one of the most important aspects in terms of presence of young people on Facebook. More than half of the sample (55.8%) posted at least one photo during the 2-week tracking period, whether it was their profile picture, or cover photo, directly on their timeline or in an album. On average, they posted seven photos, but you have to consider the percentage of very active users that cause an increase in this number. Some 2.5% of young people uploaded more than 50 photos, while 46.5% uploaded between 1 and 10 photos. In conclusion, the majority of young people upload photos frequently but there are just a few that do it intensively.

In regards to this, the majority of the images have been classified in "Others" due to their variety. There are images of all types, some uploaded photos of food, shoes, cartoons, cars, flowers, and many other things. The second leading category is that of "Pictures with friends", followed closely by photos of the users themselves (See Graph 2). It is no wonder that these two categories stand out. On one hand, the age of the sample subjects is a phase of life in which friendship is one of the areas of their life that is most valued. On the other hand, it is also a time to reassert their identity and what better way than to use the images that they share as a showcase for their friends.

Graph 2. Themes of the Photos Posted by Sample Subjects During the Tracking

DE ELLOS	CON AMIGOS	CON FAMILIA	DE ANIMALES	DE BROMA	DE SITIOS	OTRAS
20%	23,5%	5%	2%	7%	7,5%	31%
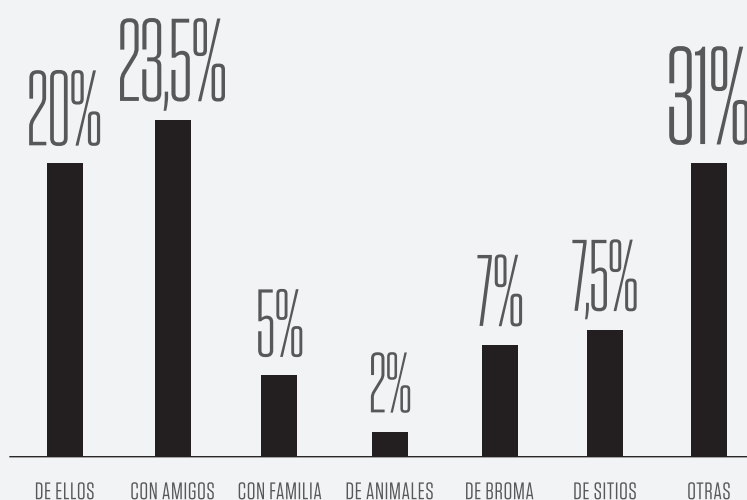
Source: the Author

In general, the images are good quality. The technology available today makes taking pictures a much easier activity than it was a few years ago. The majority of the photos are improvised and taken with a cellphone. They are images that feature groups of friends at parties, landscapes and close-ups of users. What is true is that the aesthetic is not a priority for young people when taking the picture. Despite being photos whose only objective is to capture a particular moment, in almost all of them there is a premeditated pose.

Status updates are posts that users make on their profile pages and that appear on their friends' news feed. In the sample, it is an activity that is much less frequent that commenting on the content of others or clicking on "Like". Some 35% of the young people analyzed updated their status at least once during the 2-week observation period. On average, they only posted one update. Such a low average is due to the fact that 67.5% of users did not update their status even once. Women updated more (37.7%) than men (24.3%). There was a group that represented 31.5% that updated between once and ten times, 1% updated between 11 and 20 times, and 0.5% updated it more than 30 times (women). As update their status, but there was a group that did it on a regular basis. Comments like "I am in that state when I only want someone to caress my hair while I fall into a coma" or "These are the times when you realize who the people are around you, and it is interesting, the pleasant surprise that you get when you thought some people didn't even remember you" are common and show how important the support of other people is for this collective. The college is also present on the statuses of these young people, with phrases like "Monday and in an exam" and "Studying and my friend tells me to come right now and have a drink". According to their updates on Facebook, studying it not pleasant for college students. They would rather be doing anything else: college is an obligation.

And finally, the quotes. There are all types: "Picture taking skills are acquired by practice not by purchase", "If it doesn't light a flame deep inside you, don't do it", "No man should be a tool by which another man carries out his objectives". From the quotes they publish you can see that loyalty and friendship are valued, and lies and injustices are rejected. Current topics, jokes, work and mentions (when they mention and tag other users in the status) are less frequent. you can see, the majority did

not update their status, but there was a group that did it on a regular basis. Comments like "I am in that state when I only want someone to caress my hair while I fall into a coma" or "These are the times when you realize who the people are around you, and it is interesting, the pleasant surprise that you get when you thought some people didn't even remember you" are common and show how important the support of other people is for this collective. The college is also present on the statuses of these young people, with phrases like "Monday and in an exam" and "Studying and my friend tells me to come right now and have a drink". According to their updates on Facebook, studying it not pleasant for college students. They would rather be doing anything else: college is an obligation.

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Use of the "Like" button is one of the most popular activities on Facebook. It is a simple way to show interest in some content, to communicate something specific without much effort. Half of the sample (50.5%) used the button at least once during the two weeks of observation. Its use was unequally distributed. Due to those previous-mentioned very active users, the average amount of times users clicked "Like" on posts from others was three during the two-week period. But 34.5% of those that used this button only did it once. Photos are the content that received the most "Likes", 32.5% of all "Likes" were clicked on photos. Again, the percentage of women who clicked "Like" at least once on a photo is higher (36.1%) than that of men (28.6%). Some 17.7% of women and 20% of men did it on a commentary or other type of post, and 23.8% of women and 34.2% of men did it on a page.

There are some activities on Facebook in which the young people are prone to give as much or more than they receive. One of these activities is writing comments. More than half of the sample (51.5%) made comments about the content of a friend at least once, compared to 47% that received comments on behalf of their friends. The average of

four comments made on the contents of friends is less than the mean of two who received. From that half of the young people in the sample that made comments, 28.2% commented on a photo. Most are brief comments; many times they are not even phrases, but rather simple onomatopoeia like "hahaha", "muak" or "argh". Not even the current contents that could cause a debate generated opinionated comments. Among the women, it was common to see the comment "pretty!", especially on photos, but they also do it on other types of content, for instance, under links to music videos.

In regards to the number of friends, the sample of users made on average one new friend in two weeks. In general, women made more friends than men. Perhaps in this environment women feel safer and develop more social skills. If you analyze the relation between the number of friends and the frequency in which they participate in various Facebook activities, the relationship is not directly proportional. Having more than 500 friends is not related to being more active on the social network.

4.2 Information selection. Links, much more than a URL

Only 34% of users from the sample shared a link. From the total amount of links (141), 51.5% were links to audiovisual material, which is to say music videos, funny videos and other videos. Meanwhile, the percentage of links that lead to mainly written texts (current news, curiosities and blogs) is 48.5%. This proves that once again the preferable way to interact is via image.

In regards to news, it can't be said that young people whose profiles where analyzed exchange much information about current news. In two weeks, only 34 links were shared with this topic. The most popular communication media linked to was *elpais.com* (six links), followed at a distance by *elmundo.es* (three links); and publico.es and *eldiario.es*, both with two links. Therefore, progressive-centrist ideological media dominate, and there are few links to foreign media. What's interesting is the presence of media that explain news (*Inquirer, ARN digital*), which is to say, young people could be demanding more in-depth news, beyond that which is just information.

In terms of the sections of the media that appear in these links, politics stands out in first place (eight links). Although, it is clear that the young people's view towards politics is focused on activities featuring young people, topics related to human rights, and political corruption. In contrast to what one might think, the reaction of young people to sports victories –such as those of Rafael Nadal or even the Spanish National Soccer Team- is not to share it on Facebook.

In the selection of information, the presence of audiovisual material has not made a difference, because only four links have a video posted on their webpage: two correspond to the Bárcenas case, the other is a fashion show and the last a scene from a movie. It is true that the presence of photos is higher: the represent 75%, but do not constitute an especially important material. Except for three ladies going topless, the rest are senior citizens playing dominos, portraits of famous people (Wert, Blesa, Obama, the Italian prime minister, etc.) or "neutral" photos, getting water from a spout, an airplane, a screen shot of Google, people leaning against a car waiting, etc.

This is to say that this type of link, with only written information, gets the attention of their friends, given that the presence of audiovisual elements does not constitute a significant attraction.

Social topics also peak their interest. An important topic is immigration, but also the issue of emigration of young Spaniards. Evidently, they are concerned about their future and about their professional options in the future. In terms of information posted on their profiles there is a noted special attention given to marginalized groups: rural populations, children, handicapped, victims of the war in Syria and feminist demands. To a lesser degree there are references to new technology such as some publications about Facebook or Google.

To estimate the relevance of this information, a scale from 1 (less relevant) to 4 (very relevant) has been created, applying the journalistic criteria of currentness, proximity, consequences, general interest, suspense, rarity and conflict (Edo, 2003). The result reveals that what appears in these shared links are not questions of currentness or general interest. More than 40% can be classified as a 1, which is to say, they are interviews or comments of little importance, or have to do with sports, social issues or are distantly related to education. The

information classified as a 3 represent 31% of the total. It has to do with news that goes from the reactions colleges have to cuts in education funding (specifically in scholarships) to the non-recognition of the right to forget on behalf of the European Court. Among the news classified as very relevant, the topics that covered the front pages of the main newspapers during the period of analysis. Despite having been the most important news of those days, it only represented 7% of the links to news that were shared on the social network.

Although a large number of timeless news can be observed, the current daily news makes up the majority of these links. This data indicates that young college students try to stay informed of news that occurs daily and have a certain degree of interest in it. Nevertheless, the geographic area of this news is limited mainly to Spain, at 81%. Their immediate surroundings are what affect them and neither globalization nor the general community created by internet has been able to divert their attention to the next closest area around them.

Intriguing news that was shared is not related to current events, or with politics or sports. In some cases, it's about morbid news; sometimes unlikely to be true, like the one where a man discovers at age 66 that he has ovaries. In others, emotional news, like the video posted by some newspapers in which you can see both a baby and a cat get excited at the same time when they see the father arrive home. Meanwhile other cases are about extraordinary events like how an McDonald's hamburger is conserved intact during 14 years stored in a coat pocket.

Young people also show their interest in music in the links they post. Some 32.6% of these links are music videos, 9% more than current news. If young people already shared their favorite music groups on their profiles, now they share the songs themselves, often accompanied by some comment explaining why they posted the link. The majority are related to memories of certain moments passed and, mainly, from parties. They also post songs to indicate their current mood.

The video website they link to the most is YouTube. Only two young people linked to Vimeo and one to Spotify. These are two website that are very similar to YouTube, just as easy to use and to link to as Facebook. Young people link to YouTube not because it has a particular characteristic, but simply because it is the most popular video website. It has 1 billion unique visitors per month and 72 hours of video is uploaded per minute, according to Google (owner of YouTube since 2006).

Young people in the sample prefer Spanish music above the rest. 12 of the 46 music video links were of Spanish groups or singers like Vetusta Morla, Los Piratas and Pedro Guerra. In second place is American music (10 links), some bands linked to were Aerosmith, Led Zeppelin and Lana del Rey, and British music (eight links) like the Beatles, Aluna George and Artic Monkeys. Plus, they listen to Italian and French music, as well as Brazilian, Russian and Jamaican. But of all of these, they only shared one or two links. Regardless of nationality, the genre most shared was rock, classic and its other variations (symphonic, hard, alternative). Another genre that was popular is indie music, like The XX, Florence and the Machine and Biting Elbows. They also shared pop, rap, hip-hop and dance. They tend to post current music: 31 of the videos shared were songs from the 21st century, 16 were from the current year. However, it is interesting that there were 7 links to music from the 60's and 70's, like Elvis Presley, Rolling Stones and Los Destellos.

Among their activities, what they didn't share was funny videos. Once again, YouTube is the preferred website, and only one video was uploaded directly to the Facebook video platform. This video shows a young person who seems to be riding a broom thanks to an overlapping of images. The other three videos were content previously broadcasted on television: a commercial belonging to an English campaign against boredom, a collection of funny moments of a character in the Spanish series "7 vidas" and a selection of images of reporters falling while reporting.

In the category "Other videos" there are 31 links. Although in this category the leading website is YouTube (19 links), there are more videos uploaded directly to Facebook (6). Other websites used were *Vitaminl.tv*, *Vimeo*, *Nowvideo*, *Puntoencuentrocomplutense.es* and *Zurnal24.si*. The most common content are short films (7). Some of them are professionally made, presented in film festivals, including in the Oscars. The amateur videos are funny short films. The advertising content also repeats. There are four links to commercials: one from Atlético de Madrid, another promoting a web series festival, a third belongs to Coca-Cola and finally one from a NGO *Acción contra el hambre*. The

young people also use video links to share current topics. There is also, for example, the video about political corruption in Brazil, and another about police violence in protests, as well as a video of the speech a congresswoman (UPyD) made in session. However, this type of content is rare in the sample.

Finally, another type of content shared with relative frequency is the blog. Young people in the sample shared a total of 23 links of this type. The preferred blog website is Blogspot (39.1%), followed far behind by WordPress (8.7%). The rest of the links come from blogs inserted inside other websites. More than half of the links are blogs in Spanish five were in English, one in Turkish and another in Portuguese. The theme of most of the blogs linked to is photography and cinema. Another theme that repeats is the personal blog, ones in which young people talk about their daily lives, their reflections or their knowledge of technology. They evidently make an effort in their writing so that their comments are not lost among the millions of blogs there are on the internet and that are read by their friends. They link these blogs to their Facebook profile. Without a doubt, the links shared by young people reflect a large part of who they are, of what they like and how they want to be identified. This activity also converts social networks into new windows of information, giving users the chance to stay informed without having to look at traditional communication media.

4. Conclusions. Apathy in Facebook

One of the main tasks of the first stage of adulthood is determining one's own identity in regards to romantic relationships, work and one's worldview. In this sense, Facebook offers a unique opportunity for young people to exhibit their identities.

As shown, young people share personal information that appears on any official document, like one's national ID, college enrollment, and their résumé. Age, hometown, diplomas and degrees obtained or underway, as well as languages spoken make up the essential information in one's life. Although they prove to be reluctant to post more personal information like sexual orientation, perhaps it is because going outside the norm is still difficult for them. They also do not share information that could cause an invasion of their private lives, such as their telephone numbers or email addresses. Messages of caution in disseminating this information seem to have left a mark on these generations. Their likes and interests are those that best define their identity on Facebook and, in this sense, there is consensus. There preferences in music, cinema and favorite TV programs the most common references posted on their profiles.

Photos stand out as the preferred medium of expression to communicate who they are, how they are doing and what they did during the weekend, simply and without effort. Posting photos is the activity most performed by college students. Photos and their rapid dissemination among the profiles of the rest of students, reflect the important role performed by technology in the development of young people's identity and their systems of communication. On the other hand, TV programs and movies, both of which are related to image, are the most shared preferences via the "Likes". Given the importance of the image on young people's Facebook profiles, another investigation has begun in order to address the topic further in depth.

It is proven that the most comfortable, easy, and simplest activities are the ones most used by this collective. Thus, sharing links is one of those activities. Analysis of these links has shown that young people are especially interested in music, constituting the most common interest, albeit with number of different styles. Films and photos are present in the activity developed on this social network. However, results show that we have to consider studies currently underway.

In terms of their ideology, it can be said that the majority of the sample is progressive-centrist, or they at least share news from communication media of this tendency and are interested in, based on what is seen, topics related to young people in protests, human rights and in generally social themes. It would be interesting if a future investigation to study whether or not these ideological manifestations translate into active political participation offline, in line with investigations like *Social Media Use for News and Individuals' Social Capital, Civic Engagement and Political Participation* (Gil de Zúñiga, Jung, & Valenzuela, 2012).

Despite all the interactions mentioned, the results show that the sample analyzed spent more time reading the news posted by their friends, looking at profiles and the photos of others that posting their own content or updating their profiles. Although interaction is one of the hallmarks of the new communication media, social network users spend a considerable amount of time just observing the rest. This shows that the doubts young people have on this social network are focused on generally passive observation and accompanied, if at all, by a slight movement of the index finger on the mouse. This lack of interaction coincides with the other works that have indicated that, even when young people mature and take on roles including those relevant on the Spanish political scene, the interaction on their profiles does not increase (Díaz-Campo and Segado-Boj, 2015).

With new technology and platforms like Facebook, users become producers and protagonists of their productions. Young people are creating and disseminating information on social networks with a new ability: personal control of the content to be disseminated. But this communication model repeats "one-to-many" scheme, similar to the one television and radio have used since the beginning to address their public. In other words, Facebook permits interactive communication, but as a result of the uses that these young people are giving this medium, some guidelines of traditional media are kept.

In conclusion, social network sites like Facebook offer young people new spaces to express themselves and interact with each other. Results coincide with other investigations (Almansa-Martínez, Fonseca and Castillo-Esparcia, 2013) that indicate the use that young people make of these websites as media in which they can exhibit their personality and their likes, like cinema and music (Reguillo, 2012). Nevertheless, although a great number of interactive experiences could be expected, results show a mainly passive attitude, one of observation, just as works from other countries have shown. Social networks continuously change. Therefore, one could expect that their uses will as well. Future investigations could show interesting results on the evolution of both, websites and how users relate with them.

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Tratamiento informativo del feminicidio en los medios de comunicación digitales chilenos en marzo de 2016: Una aproximación al horizonte actual desde la perspectiva de género

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Resumen

La siguiente investigación busca determinar los principales errores los medios digitales chilenos a la hora de construir noticias sobre feminicidio, centrándose en el análisis de ocho asesinatos de mujeres ocurridos en marzo del 2016, mes en que se conmemora el Día de la Mujer. Para esto, se analizó el tratamiento informativo de cada medio con una perspectiva de género. Se buscó en manuales de género los errores más comunes en noticias sobre violencia contra la mujer, estos errores fueron transformados en categorías y luego, estas categorías fueron aplicadas a 35 noticias de cuatro importantes medios digitales chilenos: *BioBioChile.cl, LaTercera. com, SoyChile.cl y Lun.com.*

La investigación arrojó que los medios digitales continúan cometiendo los mismos errores que la prensa escrita, que su principal falencia es no contextualizar la información ni concientizar sobre el tema e incluso, se revela que hay una farandulización del asesinato misógino de mujeres.

Abstract

This investigation will determinate the mistakes the Chilean digital media makes when they create news about femicide, focusing our attention on the 8 cases of femicide that happened in March 2016. The idea is to analyze the informative treatment of this subject, looking for common mistakes in digital media speech, with guidance from one of the main manuals on gender approach and journalism used in Spain and Latin America.

Palabras clave

Keywords:

1. Introduction

Chile's rank fell from #66 to #73 in gender equality, according to the Global Gender Gap Report 2015 of the World Economic Forum. Among various factors that caused this decrease, there is the low female labor force participation rate: only 46.4% of women of working age are economically active. And the majority of those who are not (37%), say that is due to being dedicated to taking care of the home (Brega, Durán and Sáez, 2015). On top of this is the gender gap, given that on average, women make 17.2% less income than men. This gap repeats in the population with the highest education level (13 years or more of education), given that the men of this group make 25.6% more than the women (CEPAL, 2016). This means that not even an investment in education or training brings women closer, in a linear fashion, to the income level of men.

These differences are repeated with the roles inside the home: a study performed by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística, carried out in Greater Santiago, revealed that 77.8% of women spend 3.9 hours daily doing housework on workdays. In the case of men, only 40.7% spend 2.9 hours doing housework and another 9.2% admitted doing it for only 1.6 hours from Monday to Friday (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, 2009).

Another study by Images Chile carried out in 2011 and published in the newspaper La Tercera, interviewed 1,600 men and women between ages 18 and 59, revealed that 54% of men believe that women's main role is to take care of the home. Incredibly, 50% of women think the same.

These are some of the expressions of gender inequality in Chile, its most dramatic form comes by way of violence against women: in 2014, 40 women were murdered by their partners or spouses and in 2015, this number increased to 45. This year, the situation lacks improvement: as of May 15, 2016, 18 had already been murdered and 8 of these cases occurred in March alone, the month in which Women's Day is celebrated.

Violence against women is considered a serious human rights offense that seriously affects our country[1]. Despite communication media reporting the cases of violence as something isolated and even, like something "unbelievable", one out of every three Chilean women has suffered violence on behalf of a relative, partner, or ex-partner. And

out of this number, 74% received it on behalf of their partner or ex-partner. Moreover, some 64% do not report it, often due to fear of the assailant (Adimark, 2013).

Contrary to an attack, robbery or kidnapping, these women are violated in different spheres of their life just for being women. Their assailants do not seek to hurt them, but rather subject them to their rules and show them what will happen if they do not follow their orders within the relationship. For this reason there is a widespread call to report situations of violence and a majority of this effort falls on communication media, which "have been indicated as an institution with a key responsibility in the eradication of violence against women and (…) in the upholding of their human rights. As a source of education for society, alongside the family and the school, the media has a fundamental responsibility in the search for solutions" (Vega, 2014: 13).

But an investigation carried out in more than 100 countries reveled in 2010 that 46% of the news, both in print media and TV, promote gender stereotypes and only 6% promote gender equality (Global Media Monitoring Project, 2010). The Chilean press is no exception: the front page of *La Cuarta* that declared that a man "made a kebob with his girlfriend" or the headline of *La Tercera* that said that Juliana Acevedo had died "from the jealousy" of her partner, are only a few of the most controversial cases.

The dossier "Women, Violence and Communication Media" disseminated in Spain summarizes some of the main errors of the press when reporting on gender violence. It must be noted that when speaking of "errors" in this line of work, it is based on two definitions from the Real Academia Española: "mistaken concept or false judgment" and "something done wrongly" (Real Academia Española, 2016a). Under no circumstances does it refer to a casual mistake. The discoveries of this dossier were: lack of strong female images, the little to no reflection, the loss of subtleties due to excessive summarizing, using clichés, morbidity and sensationalism in headlines and throughout the article, justify the attacker and lack of appropriate sources are a few examples (Instituto Oficial de Radio y Televisión, 2002).

It is for this reason that this work analyzes from the gender perspective the informative treatment of femicide in Chile's main digital communication media, specifically in regards to eight cases of fe-

micide that occurred in March 2016, the month in which Women's Day is celebrated.

Although there are numerous investigations on this subject in Spain, Latin America and Chile (in Chile there is the thesis of Claudia Lagos and Juan Manuel Cabrera), there are no studies centered on digital media, despite a recent study from the Reuters Agency showing that half the people surveyed (52%) got their news from social networks (Mis, 2016).

2. Referential Framework

Before analyzing, it is necessary to define concepts like "violence against women" and "femicide" (or feminicide), as well as the role that communication media play in the eradication of violence against women.

2.1 What Is Violence Against Women?

Gender violence is a relatively new concept both in Chile as well as in the rest of the world. Until the 90's people only spoke of "mistreatment" inside the home. Not until 1993, in the World Conference on Human Rights, did they draft the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women. This declaration defined the expression "violence against women" as referring to any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm to women, including threats, coercion, or arbitrary deprivation of liberty whether occurring in public or private life. This can encompass physical, sexual, or psychological violence occurring in the family, in the community or all that violence against women perpetrated or tolerated by the state (Human Rights Commission, 1993).

Later, in 1994, the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women declared that violence against women is "any act or conduct, based on gender, that causes death, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, whether in the public or private sphere" (The National Commission on Human Rights, 2013). It also specifies that it "constitutes a violation of human rights" and that it "is an offense against human dignity and a ma-

nifestation of the historically unequal power relations between women and men". It should be noted that this phenomenon is present in all sectors of society, regardless of age, race, class, culture, income, education, or religion (National Commission on Human Rights, 2013). This form of violence is used when men "feel threatened or challenged (...) typically they feel they have the right to use any force necessary to maintain their power" (Russell en Solyszko, 2013).

2.2 Violence Against Women As A Structural Problem

It is a type of structural violence given that it occurs within a patriarchal society. As Marcela Lagarde explains, it is "a solid construction of social relations, practices and institutions (including the State) that generate, preserve and reproduce powers (access, privileges, hierarchies, monopolies, control) of men over women and, at the same time, violates social, sexual, economic, political, legal and cultural powers of women" (Lagarde, 2005: 151- 164).

Women and their bodies become objects of attack that do not seek to harm, but rather subdue. As indicated by Foucault, the social construction of the body as an object and target of numerous attacks, for a body that is manipulated, obeys and educates. In other words, it responds to the power discourses (Foucault en Sossa, 2011).

> The symbolic dimension of domination relationships are found inscribed on the body as habitus, the great stability of a social order to have achieved immediate submission, almost natural, of the dominated. The symbolic violence, more than physical violence or any other form of mechanic coercion, constitutes the main mechanism of social reproduction, the most powerful means of maintaining order. Bourdieu observed that the nucleus of symbolic violence is found in the 'double naturalization' that is the result of the 'inscription of the social on things and on the body, (Bourdieu en Germaná, 1999: 181).

2.3 What is femicide?

Contrary to the perception that communication media gives, femicide is not the murder of a woman. The term "femicide" was coined by Diana Russel in 1992 and sought to describe misogynous murders perpetrated against women, distancing them from the neutrality of the word "homicide".

Marcela Lagarde of Mexico later translated the word to Spanish as "*feminicidio*". It is characterized for pointing to chauvinism and misogyny as being guilty of the death of women. To use it "implies referring to a social phenomenon whose cause is not isolated from the social structure and therefore is a theoretical term and with a political sense" (Solyszko, 2013).

> Calling femicide misogynous murder eliminates the ambiguity of the asexualized terms of homicide and murder (...) it is the extreme of a continuum of anti-feminine terror that includes a great amount of forms of verbal and physical abuse... as long as these forms of terrorism result in death, they are femicide (Russell en Solyszko, 2013).

Furthermore, Russell clarifies that this type of violence is a way of maintaining the patriarchy and even is a form of controlling those women who "get out of line" from their traditional roles. The main objective of this term is "break down the definitions of crimes against women and murders of women due to domestic violence, intrafamily violence or crimes of passion. These terms hide the sex of the victim and victimizer and also hide the intentional use of the violence on behalf of the man" (Monárrez, 2006).

Monárrez talks about three types of femicide: intimate femicide, where the assailant is intimately known by the victim; of femicide due to stigmatized occupations, such as the case of dancers and prostitutes; and systemic femicide, where there is a continuum of violence, such as the cases where women are found mutilated, raped and abandoned in remote locations. Despite these specifications of the concept, in Chile, the law limits this crime to certain cases.

Recently in 2010 was the term femicide introduced into the Chilean penal code, via the creation of Law 20,480. It states "if the victim of the crime is or has been the spouse or partner of the perpetrator, the crime will be called a femicide, having the same punishment as that of patricide, that ranges from 15 years and one day to life in prison" (Servicio Nacional de la Mujer). In other words, the crime is linked to the Law on Intrafamily Violence and requires a certain degree of intimacy, such as having lived under the same roof, having children in common or having been legally married. It does not include other hate crimes against women.

2.4 Communication Media and the Eradication of Violence

Communication media have been indicated as responsible for helping eradicate violence against women. However, the social construction that journalists and editors have on the body, sexuality and power may not be compatible with this new perspective of gender when elaborating news related to violence. This was manifested in the World Women's Conference in Beijing, where it was determined that communication media, advertising companies and their professionals should examine "the consequences of the dissemination of sexist stereotypes in content, including those (...) that promote gender violence and discrimination, and take measures to eliminate these negative images" (Vega, 2014).

For this reason it is has been recommended to encourage the participation of women in these media, as both owners and content writers. And finally, they should become aware of their important role in "informing and educating the public about the causes and effects of violence against women and to encourage public debate about the topic" (Vega, 2014).

Despite all these conventions, decalogues, and treaties, communication media continue to portray women in stereotyped roles. As Aimeé Vega writes in one of her articles, "communication media, far from encouraging the human rights of women to a life without violence, promote their discrimination (...) and profit from the opportunity to broadcast gender violence" (Vega, 2014). In summary, this author indicates that generally women are given traditional roles or are represented as sex objects or consumer groups. Women are rarely portrayed as social agents in areas like education, science, economy, culture and politics.

In Chilean communication media, the concept of

femicide bursts on to the news scene in 2007, as shown in the investigation by Claudia Lagos. The first to adopt the concept is *La Cuarta*, March 21st of that year ("Man guilty of femicide freaks out and he turns himself in"). *El Mercurio, La Nación* and *La Tercera* would use the word in May of that same year, when the sentence for the Neira case was is-sued[2]. That is, as Lagos describes, this term ap-pears as "a resource that is barely descriptive –fe-micide, therefore homicide of a woman- and not in its political dimension with connotations of gender inequalities" (Lagos, 2008).

Errors in the reporting of news on violence against women in the Chilean press are frequent, according to this researcher. Differentiation of the victims ac-cording to their social strata and education level, sensationalist narration, misspelling the names of the people involved, missing information, justifying the perpetrator with psychiatric conditions, portra-ying the femicide as a drama or unavoidable tra-gedy, portraying the femicide as a "fit of rage" or as an effect of "passion", attributing it to alcohol or drugs, the dissemination of stereotypes and lack of specialized sources were some of the problems identified (Lagos, 2008).

Ford and Longo indicate that when a journalist case is told with a narrative discourse, it takes on the very attributes of the story or crime novel: a main character; beginning, climax and denouement; an increase, fall or change of luck and an identifiable narrative voice (1999). But can these poorly deve-loped news stories affect the reality of the women in a country? In March 2016, in Chile, eight women died at the hands of their husbands or partners and many of the crimes occurred during the same week. In fact, two of these cases of femicide happened on the same day: March 8th, Nelly Leighton was killed in Tijeral and Amelia García in Paredones.

The explication for this phenomena can be found in the doctoral thesis of Isabel Marzabal, who analy-zed the "imitation effect" in 30 cases of femicide committed in Barcelona between 2004 and 2009, concluding that the probability that a new femicide will be committed increases when news of murders of women appears in communication media. "It has to do with what is known as the imitation effect: the power of communication media to provoke an epi-demic of similar conduct" (Red Chilena contra la Violencia hacia las Mujeres, 2016).

You can also appeal to the social construction of the violated woman in the news. There are two key stereotypes when reviewing a news story related to femicide. There is the good woman and the bad one or instigator, as Gallagher indicates:

> The virginal woman (virgin) of communication media is associated to the masculine subor-dination (the lack of freedom, to puritanism (or the man's sexual control) and sacrifice. In comparison the man represents independen-ce, strength and tenacity. The woman vampire is cruel, inhumane, insensitive and unscru-pulous. She is a powerful sexual object that can be subordinated to the good qualities of the man (Gallagher en Contreras, 2008: 35).

This would prove that a poorly-developed news story on violence against women and with vivid details of the aggression or murder without men-tioning the sentences or punishments of the assai-lants, would have an affect on other aggressors. In other words, communication media have a practi-cally direct influence on the eradication or the in-crease of this problem.

2.5 Possible Solutions for Provision of Information with Gender Pers-pective

Communication media must take a more active role, not in the victimization of the population or in instilling a constant fear, but in collaborating with state agencies in order to work on the prevention of gender violence, instead of covering cases of femicide when they have already occurred. This is indicated by the Brazilian researcher Rita Laura Segato "there is an essential condition: media dis-semination of rights. The visibility of rights builds, persuasively, jurisdiction. Rights are rhetorical by nature, but the rhetoric depends on the channels of dissemination. It needs advertising. It's necessary for the propaganda and the communication media in general work in favor of the avoidance, and not against it" (Segato, 2003).

When we refer to press media and the use of lan-guage within a context of gender violence, it should reject certain expressions and stereotypes taken from the crime novel, like for example, using the headline: he killed her for love, phrases that ulti-

mately reestablish the traditional and sexist notion of a culture composed of women and men that deserve equal informative treatment.

In Spain the press kit, "Women, Violence, and Communication Media", where 16 headlines are indicated that can help avoid falling into biases when disseminating information related to domestic violence. Among these headlines there is one that says the communicator must avoid the narcotic effect. He or she must keep in mind that this is not a conventional news story, and therefore should not be developed with the same template, but carefully and, after a rigorous investigation, clearly identifying the aggressor and avoiding the criminalization of the victim. It also indicates that it is important not to fall into morbidity, draw attention to testimonials of those close to the assailant or victim, note if there were previous reports or judicial processes, use clichés and be careful with the adjectives used (Instituto Oficial de Radio y Televisión Española, 2002). "Words rarely turn out to be innocent and bits of information or commentaries which appear inoffensive can critically distort information. This type of news requires being as careful as possible with the drafting of the news story, even despite a supposed loss of originality or sparkle", (Instituto Oficial de Radio y Televisión Española, 2002).

It is important to study how digital communication media develop news on violence against women resulting in death because together with school and society, they are makers of opinions and our notion of the world. This is explained well by the Theory of Social Mediation, which studies the production, transmission and usage of the culture; something absolutely necessary if you consider that culture can be used as domination procedure.

"The participation of the mass communication media in the development of a representation of what happens in the world starts when the media institution or other social agents select certain happenings in order to make them public" (Martín Serrano, 1993). Such is the case when the media choose to inform or not a case of violence against women.

The Theory of Mediation also explains that in mass communication media there are two types of mediation, "cognitive mediation" which "is focused on achieving that which changes to have a place in the audience's world view, although in order to provide this place, it is necessary to transform that world view" (Serrano, 1993). In this case, it has to do with the transformation of a historically chauvinist society. We also consider that there is an absence of investigations in the area of Social Communication that possess a methodology that includes the gender perspective. This is, as indicated by the Costa Rican attorney Alda Facio: express a theory of how to proceed to use the same methods that traditional analysts use to arrive at conclusions and solutions that are non-sexist or androcentric (Facio, 1999: 99-136).

This, of course, part of a theoretical framework that allows for theoreticizing as to how to proceed with a news text uploaded to the web, to analyze it using a non-sexist method. Included in the steps mentioned are: be aware of the subordination of the feminine sex, identify the different ways in which sexism is manifested in the journalistic text, identify which is the woman who is identified in the news, identify what is the view of the woman who serves as support to the text and expand the awareness of what sexism is and how it can be present in the text to a higher or lower degree (Facio, 1999: 99-136). This study is also framed within the Theory of Agenda-Setting, given that "there is a high correlation between the topics to which media deem important and those that interest their audiences" (López-Escobar, Llamas & McCombs, 1996: 9). Based on this, we will analyze how much coverage each femicide was given and we will reflect on why more space on the agenda was given to some victims and not others.

The Theory of Framing also gives us important conceptual and methodological tools for analysis, given that this focuses on "the cognitive effects of the communication media, in the knowledge that the news provides based on above all the redundancy, repetition, and often the emphasis on determined aspects of the communicative messages" (Carbadillo, 2010). This particular theory goes beyond what is proposed by the Theory of Agenda Setting, "focusing on how topics are addressed that are an object of attention on behalf of the communication media. Above all, it is about analyzing the perspectives or points of view from those that address these problems or topics and as a result, what interpretation or image they offer of them" (Carbadillo, 2010).

Methodology

The month of March 2016 was chosen to be analyzed given that there were 8 women killed at the hands of their spouses or partners in the same month in which Women's Day is celebrated. Moreover, several of the cases occurred within a few days of each other. Then, the area of analysis was reduced to four communication media. The newspaper La Cuarta was not included in this study given that it has been widely studied in its printed form (such as in the research of Claudia Lagos) and because it doesn't have the same reach on the web. The media to be analyzed are:

BioBioChile.cl: 6th most visited website according to Alexa ranking (June 2016), second most read digital media of Chile.

Lun.com: 7th most visited websites according to Alexa ranking (June 2016), third most read digital media of Chile.

LaTercera.com: 41st most visited website according to Alexa ranking (June 2016), fourth most read digital media of Chile.

SoyChile.cl: 96th most visited websites according to the Alexa ranking (June 2016), sixth most read digital media of Chile. One of the most reported for making errors by Chile's media observatory agency.

After completing a search of each medium and via Google Search, the body of analysis was reduced to 35 news stories. After analyzing manuals like the press kit, "Women, Violence and Communication Media" of the Spanish government, a table was created of the most common errors made by communication media, dividing them into seven categories. We took two definitions from the Real Academia Española to specify what we would call "an error" in this work: "mistaken concept or false judgment" and "something done wrongly" (Real Academia Española, 2016). It must be noted that when a journalist reports on violence against women incorrectly or mistakenly, he or she does it with a personal social bias and from a society that is patriarchal. Therefore, it is an individual error as well as a social and structural error.

The seven categories to analyze are:

Coverage: To Publish / Not to Publish. The non-visualization of the subject is as bad as bombarding the public with news about violence against women. If the media do not accept official cases in order to include them in their agenda, the topics will not be included in the Chilean population's agenda either.

A.- Use of erroneous concepts. Such as "crime of passion", "matrimonial fight or dispute", "basic instincts", "crimes of love or honor" and "due to jealousy". All of these phrases tend to justify or mitigate the crime.

B.- Lack of sympathy towards the victim. Not publishing sensitive information correctly, affecting the victim and her family. Presenting them as responsible for their own abuse. Call more attention to her physical aspects or her role as a mother/wife.

C.- Justification of the aggressor. Not delving into attenuating circumstances such as a clean rap sheet or his work in the community. Do not justify it with pathologies ("he was insanely jealous?") or addictions (alcoholism, drug addiction).

D.- Morbid and Sensationalism. Phrases that emphasize the details of the act of violence, forgetting how reprehensible the situation is and the privacy of the victim. Shocking, frivolous, or discriminatory headlines. Trivialization of the news story. Use of unnecessary adjectives. Overusing pictures of the victim. The morbid has been defined as an "attraction to unpleasant occurrences" or "unhealthy interest in people or things" (Real Academia Española, 2016b). Sensationalism has been defined as the "tendency to produce sensation, emotion or impact using news, happenings, etc." by the same dictionary (Real Academia Española, 2016c).

E.- Lack of Contextualization of the News. The news story should contain a series of useful tips to help victims and show how intolerable the aggression is. The femicide should not be shown as an isolated event, or as a tragedy or drama that was impossible to prevent. The news story should offer tools to victims (help hotlines, foundations or guidelines to following in the event of experiencing violence). It should mention if there were reports or previous preventive measures and remind the public of the punishments for femicide, in order to

dissuade aggressors of committing future aggressions. It should also feature specialists that explain the phenomena from the psychological, sociological, anthropological angles as well as from other fields of social and humanistic sciences.

F.- Discrimination Due to Ethnicity, Religion, Social Condition, Sexuality or Nationality. Emphasize details like their country of origin, profession, or social segment more so than the act of violence. Consider cases of violence against women in middle to high-class families as "strange".

The cases of femicide of March 2016 to be analyzed in these 35 news stories are: Karen Wilson (age 31, killed March 3), Silvana Sepúlveda Durán (age 41, killed March 5), Magali Carriel Garrido (age 63, killed March 7), Nelly Leighton Salazar (age 45, killed March 8), Juliana Andrea Acevedo (age 21, killed March 9), Nancy Arenas Astudillos (age 60, killed March 10) and Yuri Álvarez Valderrama (age 28, killed March 25).

5. Analysis

Analysis of the informative treatment of cases of femicide that occurred in March 2016. The number and facts of the case were provided by SERNAM. After determining the eight official cases of femicide during this month, information and main facts delivered by the media was analyzed.

Case 1: Karen Wilson

March 3, Antofagasta (Region of Antofagasta). Karen Wilson, 31, Biology teacher, mother of a 6 year-old daughter and a 4 year-old son, was strangled by her husband, Ricardo Huerta, who transported the victim's dead body to different parts of the city. No reports registered. It was the 5th case of femicide of 2016.

Analysis of Case 1: *BioBioChile* published only one news article on the case and *SoyChile*, four. *La Tercera* and *Las Últimas Noticias* did not cover the case, providing for a total of 5 news stories to analyze. Both media that picked up the case have ample regional coverage and tend to make the same mistakes when developing the news story. In the case of *BioBioChile* you can see problems of grammar and spelling, that imply careless work when analyzing the facts and, on the other hand, the excessive morbidity and the little sympathy towards the victim, of which we are told practically nothing. All the information that we are given by this medium is that "the attacker, a 37-year-old man, who was arrested after confessing to the crime, was the dead woman's boyfriend" (BioBioChile, March 3, 2016).

The medium *SoyChile* makes ethical mistakes related to justifying the aggressor and giving little information about the victim. It says that Karen was filing divorce papers and that she was in a new relationship. According to this media "the one-sided effort to start divorce proceedings and her ex-husband's jealousy of her new relationship were causes of the femicide that took the life of the biology teacher at Netland School in Antofagasta, Karen Wilson Villagrán, age 31", [SoyChile, March 5, 2016, emphasis added]. On a third note, we know that she was a biology teacher, that SERNAM would file a lawsuit for femicide and her relatives would paint a mural in her honor in order to make the population aware of gender violence.

Table 1

MEDIUM	CATEGORY A	CATEGORY B	CATEGORY C	CATEGORY D	CATEGORY E	CATEGORY F
BBCL	X	X	X	X	X	-
LA TERCERA	-	-	-	-	-	-
LUN	-	-	-	-	-	-
SOY CHILE	XXX	XX	XX	XX	XX	-
TOTAL	4	3	3	3	3	0

Case 2: Silvana Sepúlveda Durán

March 5, Maipú (Metropolitan Region), Silvana Se-
púlveda Durán (41) was mother of two sons and
a daughter. She was murdered by her live-in bo-
yfriend, Francisco Marchant Marchant, who later
committed suicide. The perpetrator called her
daughter, who lived in another city, and she was the
one who alerted the neighbors who discovered the
body. It was the 6th case of femicide of 2016.

Analysis of Case 2: Again, this femicide was only
covered by *BioBioChile* (one news story) and
SoyChile (two news stories), giving it a total cove-
rage of three stories. Neither *LUN* nor *La Tercera*
included it in their agenda. Emphasis is given to
the morbidity of the crime, providing violent details
of the event, revealing that Francisco Marchant hit
Silvana with a baseball bat in front of one of her
small children and that he told everything that had
happened to a daughter that lived in another city.
It is also worth noting that the name of the per-
petrator is not released, despite having committed
suicide after the fact. We know no other informa-
tion about Silvana except for her role as a mother
and the cruelty of the murder. "The terrible crime
occurred in the presence of a child only 3 years old,
who was son of the victim, and it was revealed that

after the murder the aggressor called her daughter
before killing himself" (SoyChile, March 6, 2016).

Case 3: Magali Carriel Garrido

March 7, Talcahuano (Region del Bío Bío). Magali
Carriel Garrido's (63) throat was cut by her hus-
band, Carlos Delgado Delgado. There were pre-
vious reports of domestic violence. Magali had
been bed-ridden for almost a year after suffering a
stroke. The man cut himself in the jaw before being
arrested. This was the 7th femicide of 2016.

Analysis of Case 3: This news was covered by *Bio-
BioChile* (with two news stories) and *SoyChile* (four
news stories). Neither *La Tercera* nor *LUN* covered
this case, providing for a total body of analysis of 6
articles. In this death. the morbidity related to the
murder appears to a more important aspect than
the femicide itself. *SoyChile* disseminates more
than 4 pictures showing neighbors looking upset
over the news. We do not know much about Magali,
except that she had been bed-ridden for almost a
year due to a stroke. Of the victim, *BioBioChile* only
says that "the woman was identified as Magaly Ca-
rriel Garrido, age 63 (BioBioChile, March 7, 2016).
SoyChile pointed a guilty finger at the woman for
her own femicide:

Table 2

MEDIUM	CATEGORY A	CATEGORY B	CATEGORY C	CATEGORY D	CATEGORY E	CATEGORY F
BBCL	X	X	X	X	X	-
LA TERCERA	-	-	-	-	-	-
LUN	-	-	-	-	-	-
SOY CHILE	-	X	-	X	X	-
TOTAL	1	2	1	2	2	0

Table 3

MEDIUM	CATEGORY A	CATEGORY B	CATEGORY C	CATEGORY D	CATEGORY E	CATEGORY F
BBCL	-	XX	-	-	XX	-
LA TERCERA	-	-	-	-	-	-
LUN	-	-	-	-	-	-
SOY CHILE	-	XX	XX	XX	X	-
TOTAL	0	4	2	2	3	0

Although the woman's husband did not confess to the crime, we know that the victim had filed reports on her husband twice for abuse. Nevertheless, these accusations did not reach court due to the fact that Magaly Carriel did not confirm the reports given that she defended her aggressor [SoyChile, March 9, 2016, emphasis added].

Both media that covered the news -*SoyChile* and *BiobioChile*-, took declarations issued by the authorities. However, they include no previous reporting. There is a likeness in articles suggesting that they were press releases.

Case 4: Nelly Leighton

March 8, Tijerales (Region of la Araucanía). Nelly Leighton Salazar (45) was killed by her partner José Arriagada Baeza, who later committed suicide. Everything was done in the presence of their 9 year-old son. This was the 8th femicide of 2016.

Analysis of Case 4: The case was covered by *BioBio-Chile* (two articles) and *SoyChile* (one article), giving a total coverage of three articles. Neither *La Tercera* no *LUN* included this case in their agenda. In the media that covered it there are errors when describing the location (SoyChile said it occurred in Manzanares, then in Malleco, although it occurred in a place called Tijerales), which implies a lack of reporting.

This victim is described by BioBioChile as his girlfriend. No more information about her is given: "This Tuesday, Nelly Leighton Salazar, age 45, was killed this Tuesday in Renaico by her partner, José Arriagada Baeza, age 49, who later committed suicide" (BioBioChile, March 9, 2016).

SoyChile explicitly blamed the attack on jealousy and put much emphasis on the morbidity and tragedy of the scene:

An argument, apparently motivated by jealousy, brought about the crime that ended the life of Nelly del Carmen Leighton Salazar (46), who was attacked by her husband, José Rolando Arriagada, who inflicted an axe blow to her head. The tragedy occurred close to 6pm at the entrance to the property that the couple shared in the rural sector of the capital of the province of Malleco, and in the presence of two of the three children that the couple had. After attacking his wife with the axe, the aggressor fled the scene towards a place near to the home of the sector and later committed suicide by hanging himself [SoyChile, March 9, 2016, emphasis added].

The follow-up coverage done by both media informs that SERNAM as well as SENAME would become involved in the case due to the psychological shock experienced by the couple's child. The news stories allude to a possible press release from both communication media. Although use of press releases are very useful when reporting, it is necessary to verify the information and go further in depth.

Table 4

MEDIUM	CATEGORY A	CATEGORY B	CATEGORY C	CATEGORY D	CATEGORY E	CATEGORY F
BBCL	-	XX	-	XX	X	-
LA TERCERA	-	-	-	-	-	-
LUN	-	-	-	-	-	-
SOY CHILE	X	X	-	X	-	-
TOTAL	1	3	0	3	1	0

Table 5

MEDIUM	CATEGORY A	CATEGORY B	CATEGORY C	CATEGORY D	CATEGORY E	CATEGORY F
BBCL	-	X	-	-	X	-
LA TERCERA	-	-	-	.	.	-
LUN	-	-	-	-	-	-
SOY CHILE	-	-	-	-	.	.
TOTAL	0	1	0	0	1	0

Case number 5: Amelia García

March 8, Paredones (Region of O'Higgins). Amelia García 47, housewife and mother of one daughter, was murdered by her husband, Juan Humberto Cornejo González. This femicide occurred the same day that she filed a complaint in VIF. It was the 9th femicide of 2016.

Analysis of Case 5: What is interesting is the little to no coverage that this case received. Only *BioBioChile* covered it (only one article). Neither *SoyChile* nor *La Tercera* nor *LUN* included it in their agenda. In the case of the only news story published, it was written with little information, and showed errors like the lack of sympathy and poor contextualization.

We know little about the victim except for the fact that she had filed a complaint for violence the very day she was murdered. This detail, more than causing awareness among readers, becomes a warning for future women who want to file complaints:

> Juan Humberto Cornejo González, age 49, was accused of murdering Amelia del Carmen García Correa, 47, mother of 5 children. According to the case facts, the woman, on the morning of March 8 had reported psychological abuse in the local police station. Afterwards, she went to visit some friends, and the suspect is said to have arrived there during the afternoon. There they argued, and then the man took a knife from the kitchen and killed his victim, [BioBioChile, March 12, 2016, emphasis added].

It is sensed that the rest of the media did not publish this case because: (a) news coverage in regions outside Santiago, like Paredones, is low, (b) the profile of a 47-year-old mother and housewife is not a very attention-grabbing news story y (c) the case did not have many graphic or violent details like other cases of femicide, such as those of Juliana Acevedo and Magali Carriel.

Case Number 6: Juliana Acevedo

March 9, Santiago (Metropolitan Region). Juliana Acevedo, 21-year-old worker, was killed and her body cut into pieces by her live-in boyfriend, Edwin Vásquez Ortiz. Her remains were found in the Mapocho River. It was recorded as femicide number 10 of 2016.

Analysis of Case 6: This femicide was one of the most covered this month, totaling 11 news stories in four communication media: two news from

BioBioChile, three from *LUN*, four from *La Tercera* and two from *SoyChile*.

One of the most common errors is the lack of contextualization of the news, given that techniques like including help hotlines, punishments of aggressors and explications from experts on violence against women were not included in the reporting by journalists. *Las Últimas Noticias* was not able to identify how the aggressor went breaking her contact with family and friends and isolating her, signs that were present in their journalistic narration, but were not identified because they did not consult with experts:

Luisa María says she does not know if Yuliana stopped contact with her group of friends because her

relationship with Edwin took all her time or because he did not let her see other people often. 'She did not come back and speak to any of us in her group of friends. We didn't go out together anymore, because she was always with him', says Luisa María. 'No one knew about the relationship that they had. Then I heard she was going to go with him to Chile. On top of that, we didn't even say goodbye. I don't know what happened to the friendship.

I don't know if it was him who wouldn't let her see me or what was going on. I never wanted to ask her', she confesses [Las Últimas Noticias, March 11, 2016, emphasis added].

Johan Acosta, neighbor and friend of Yuliana, provided more details. 'I knew them both. Edwin was jealous when he was with his ex-girlfriend, one with which he has a 7 or 8 year-old son. He was very impulsive at that time, he couldn't control his temper', he says (ídem).

The second error category that was the most repeated was that of morbidity and sensationalism: the majority of the news sources gathered excessive details of the fight between Edwin and Juliana and the later cutting up of her body and discarding of it in the Mapocho River. La Tercera gave such a detailed description of her death that it seemed like an instruction manual on how to kill. The news article titled "From Jealousy to Horror" received so many complaints that it was later removed from its website:

> During the argument, Vásquez began to strangle Juliana, harder and harder until she stopped moving. Then he hit her three times in the trachea. The dead body of the young girl stayed in the studio apartment while the suspect went out for a while. He came back that evening and carried the body to the bathtub where he dismembered it. He used tourniquets, like shoe strings and shirts, to stop the hemorrhaging from the extremities. For this same reason, he also splashed them with hot water and salt. Around 11pm that night he hid the torso and the head in a suitcase. He took this luggage and stopped a cab that took him to the Cal y Canto Bridge. Then he threw it into the Mapocho River. He went back to the apartment, slept, and the next morning he put the extremities in grocery bags. He took another cab to the same bridge and repeated the action [La Tercera, March 2016, emphasis added].

Thte third most important category is the lack of sympathy for the victim: some media accused Juliana of "mutual violence" and others barely gathered information about her life, leaving her invisible in the story. *La Tercera* published another questionable article titled "The Story of the Beautiful Young Girl Who Was Dismembered by Her Boyfriend", which again received complaints and was removed from its website:

> Jealousy provoked heavy fights that were frequent. One of them is what caused rage in Edwin Vásquez, and resulted in him killing his girlfriend inside the apartment they shared. According to the details of the investigation, that Saturday afternoon the couple began an argument caused by jealousy that grew more and more intense.

> The young lady hit him in his chest, to which Vásquez responded with a slap. Aguirre de-

Table 6

MEDIUM	CATEGORY A	CATEGORY B	CATEGORY C	CATEGORY D	CATEGORY E	CATEGORY F
BBCL	-	X X	X X	X X	X X	-
LA TERCERA	X	X	X	X X X	X X X	X X
LUN	X X	X X X	X X	X X X	X X X X	X
SOY CHILE	-	X X	X X	X X	X X	X
TOTAL	3	8	7	10	11	4

fended herself with a punch, after which the suspect took her by the neck, strangling her [La Tercera, March 2016, emphasis added].

BioBioChile also blamed the argument and provided further graphic details:

> *Both became involved in an intense argument in the apartment they both shared on the street*

> Huérfanos in downtown Santiago. This caused Vásquez to choke and strangle his girlfriend with a rope and later take her to the bathroom inside the apartment where, with a butcher knife, he dismembered her to later discard her in the river [BioBioChile, March 9, 2016, emphasis added]

Meanwhile, her killer was noted for his knowledge of human anatomy and for being very formal and kind, to the point that he turned himself in to the police:

> Vásquez, overcome with guilt, confessed the murder to his boss who encouraged him to turn himself in to police. Furthermore, he said he was an ex-member of rural police in Colombia and that his behavior was due to his experience related to this position and the fact that his relatives owned a funeral home in said country [BioBioChile, March 9, 2016, emphasis added].

Moreover, online communication media put excessive emphasis on the fact that Juliana was a foreign woman, from a numerous and poor family in Colombia, violence against women being a society-wide problem in all countries, cultures and social classes. Another error detected were the constant changes to the name and job held by the victim in the different news stories (she was called by her Facebook username, "Yuliana") and the overexpo-

sure of the public to images of her that circulated the social networks, including post mortem pictures of the tattoos on her extremities. In fact, Las Últimas Noticias published a news story titled "Why Did Juliana Have the Name Juan David Tattooed on Her Wrist?" with the images of her removed extremities that the investigative police disseminated in order to identify her.

This case seems to have had more coverage that those of other murdered women, because (a) there were shocking details of the murder and dismemberment of Juliana, (b) Juliana was a young woman who was even qualified as "pretty" by journalists (c) it happened in Santiago, and therefore was easier for the communication media –each one with an office in this city – to cover the story. This leads us to understand that there is a "show-business" aspect of femicide. In other words, expanded coverage is given like it were something of the entertainment world when it gets a lot of views; this translates into more revenue for websites, from which you can speak of a profiting from the violence against women.

5.7. Case Number 7: Nancy Arenas Astudillo

March 10, Rinconada de Los Andes. Nancy Arenas, 60, was murdered by her husband, Fernando Gómez Muñoz, who later committed suicide. This was femicide number 11 of 2016.

Analysis of Case 7: The case of Nancy Arenas was only covered by BioBioChile (one article). This medium published a news story that was too short, poorly contextualized and once again, barely gave information about the victim. All the information provided by this medium is summarized in one paragraph:

Table 7

MEDIUM	CATEGORY A	CATEGORY B	CATEGORY C	CATEGORY D	CATEGORY E	CATEGORY F
BBCL	-	X	-	-	X	-
LA TERCERA	-	-	-	-	-	-
LUN	-	-	-	-	-	-
SOY CHILE	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	0	1	0	0	1	0

The event occurred in Rinconada, where a man shot his wife in the face and later committed suicide. Gutiérrez said that they were both over 60 years old and lived alone on a piece of land they both managed (BioBioChile, March 10, 2016).

You could say that the digital media did not take up her case, because: (a) her murder occurred in a small town, (b) Nancy was a rural woman, senior citizen, and housewife, (c) because there were no more graphic information about her death, and (d) because the case of Juliana Acevedo was taking all the journalists' attention.

5.8. Case number 8: Yuri Álvarez

March 25, Quillón. Yuri Álvarez (28), worked in sales and mother of one child, was murdered by her husband, Ángelo Iturra. There was a report filed in 2014. This femicide was recorded as number 12 of 2016.

Analysis of Case 8: This case was picked up by two media that often cover news in regions outside of Santiago: *BioBioChile* (two articles) and SoyChile (three articles), making for a total coverage of five articles; neither La Tercera nor *LUN* featured it in their agenda.

Again, the error category that appeared most was the lack of contextualization of the news, given that the journalist are satisfied with reporting on femicides as an isolated event, without giving more information in order to educate the population or seeking to create awareness about the topic. After that comes the lack of sympathy for the victim –of whom no additional information is given about her age or if she were married - and the justification of the aggressor.

The woman, after locking herself in her child's bedroom (who at that time was at his grandparents' house) was followed by the man, who used a hammer to break the lock and once inside the bedroom, proceeded to hit her many times, causing her death (SoyChile, March 29, 2016).

The public defender, Antonio Guerra, argued that the man had at least two extenuating circumstances in his favor for having turned himself in to the Quillón police [SoyChile, March 29, 2016, emphasis added].

Only one article from *SoyChile* said that Yuri sold ice cream and had a child. Institutional sources were included, specifically the one from Servicio Nacional de la Mujer, but no statements from experts on gender violence were obtained.

Table 8

MEDIUM	COVERAGE	CATEGORY A	CATEGORY B	CATEGORY C	CATEGORY D	CATEGORY E	CATEGORY F
BBCL	PUBLICA 2	-	X	-	-	X	-
LA TERCERA	NO PUBLICA	-	-	-	-	-	-
LUN	NO PUBLICA	-	-	-	-	-	-
SOY CHILE	PUBLICA 3	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	5 NOTICIAS	0	1	0	0	1	0

Tabla 9

	COVERAGE	CATEGORY A	CATEGORY B	CATEGORY C	CATEGORY D	CATEGORY E	CATEGORY F
N° NOTICIAS	35	10	24	13	21	27	4
%	100%	28,5%	58,5%	37,1%	60%	77,1%	11,4%

Total Coverage and Errors

These eight cases of femicide were covered in 35 news stories, in these four digital communication media. They showed errors such as lack of sympathy for the victim (68.5%), morbidity and sensationalism (60%) and especially, lack of context in the news (77.1%), as the following table shows.

There was also inequality in the individual coverage that each medium gave the cases of femicide. The Chilean digital media with most daily visits and that covered the problem the most were BioBioChile and SoyChile, as summarized in the following table.

Conclusions

The digital communication media of Chile are committing serious mistakes when it comes to reporting sexual violence against women, errors that are similar to those of its predecessors, the print media. Not even the technological advantages of these platforms or the ability to use multimedia or link to other pages have allowed the improvement in quality of information provided to readers regarding cases of femicide.

As indicated in Table 10, coverage of femicide was especially low in the highest selling newspaper

Table 10

MEDIUM	COVERAGE	%
BBCL	12	34,2%
LA TERCERA	3	8,5%
LUN	4	11,4%
SOY CHILE	16	45,7%
TOTAL	35	100%

in the country, *LUN* (8.5%) and the second most important newspaper in the country, La Tercera (11.4%), in which they only featured violent cases involving young women within the Metropolitan Region like that of Juliana Acevedo as well as another case of violence that was not recorded as a femicide by Sernam: the murder of Alison Calderón, age 17. *BioBioChile* and *SoyChile* maintained more constant coverage (34.2% and 45.7%, respectively), given their wider presence, resources and teams in regions. Nevertheless, the articles of BioBioChile were too short and poorly contextualized, based on radio dispatches or institution press releases, while some news stories of *SoyChile* had an excessive focus on the children of the victims and not on the woman murdered.

As indicated in Table 9, communication media showed a marked lack of sympathy towards the victim (68.5% of the news analyzed). Very rarely were details about their lives given beyond that of their relation with the aggressor and whether or not they had children. In some of the new stories, their names were misspelled and in the case of Juliana Acevedo, her place of work was changed several times; only *LUN* emphasized that she had taken a course to be an accountant.

While many victims' images were overexposed to the public, rarely were the assailants' names given or photographs featured, even though a few had confessed to the crime. Some of the news stories justified their behavior (37.1%), especially in the case of Juliana Acevedo, where her murder and dismemberment was attributed to mutual violence, jealousy, love or the heat of the argument. In the case of Karen Wilson, much emphasis was put on that she had just asked him for a divorce and that she was in a new relationship.

Not many erroneous concepts were found in terms of ethics in journalistic texts (28.5%), except for a few articles on Juliana Acevedo, which talked about

the "alleged aggressor" or "alleged parricide", despite the suspect having confessed. In other articles, there was the lack of attention to correcting spelling mistakes or grammar. In addition, there was excessive morbidity –attraction to unpleasant events – and sensationalism in the provision of information (60% of the news analyzed), especially in the case of Juliana Acevedo.

The most common error was the lack of contextualization (77.1% of the news analyzed). This indicates that journalists do not include interviewing experts or learning in detail about the lives of the victims in their routines. They also do not provide tools that are useful to other victims or mention the punishments of femicide. They limit themselves to reading police reports or interviewing the victim's friends and family. Therefore, there is no explanation as why violence against women occurs or what the warning signs are. There is no attempt to spread awareness in the public or and much less, promote prevention.

Although this investigation into Chilean digital media is exploratory, the results indicate it is urgently necessary to educate journalists and future journalists to provide information with gender perspective, that offer solutions and raise awareness about the subject. The launching of manuals is not enough. For instance, in 2016, Chile's National Human Rights Institute presented the Human Rights Manual for Communicators. The hectic routines of journalists, the lack of support –monetary or permission- for their specialization, constant personnel turnover and the shift system does not allow for information to flow to the pressrooms or much less in regional media. For example, this manual was only launched in one university of Santiago-. For this reason we believe it is necessary to go directly to the media and generate opportunities for dialogue and constant training, supported by media directors and editors. Reporters. This is the only way to generate information and the public will stop seeing these cases of violence against women as isolated events, or belonging only to certain social classes, and begin to perceive them as something widespread in our society, but that duly reported and made known, can be prevented and stopped.

Notas

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2. December 19th, Alfredo Cabrera Opazo hit his ex-wife, Claudia Neira Oportus until almost killing her. Their daughter, age 6, Javiera, tried to defend her. For this, Alfredo took the girl up in an elevator to the 7th floor and threw her off the balcony, killing her instantly.

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The narrative formulas in cinema and literature: a paradigmatic proposal

Las fórmulas narrativas en cine y literatura: una propuesta paradigmática

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Resumen

En este trabajo retomo la tradición académica orientada a plantear la existencia de estrategias narrativas comunes a todos los soportes semióticos. Propongo la creación de un sistema de fórmulas narrativas que permiten precisar la naturaleza estructural de estrategias narrativas fundamentales, como el suspenso, la sorpresa, la transferencia de culpa y la narrativa conjetural, así como las estrategias distintivas del inicio y el final de naturaleza clásica, moderna y posmoderna. Para el análisis se utilizan películas de Alfred Hitchcock y novelas y cuentos del siglo XX.

Abstract

This paper presents a general overview of the narratological tradition in order to pose the existence of narrative strategies that are common to every narration. Terminative theory has received much more attention than inchoative theory. This paper presents a system of narrative formulas which are useful for studying the structural nature of fundamental narrative strategies, such as narrative suspense, surprise, guilt transference, and conjectural fiction, as well as the structural strategies of classic, modern, and postmodern beginnings and endings. The examples belong in Alfred Hitchcock's films and 20th century novels and short stories.

Palabras clave

Keywords

1. Introduction

The objective of this work is to propose the creation of a system of universal narrative formulas that facilitate the analysis of common structural strategies found in all narrations (cinema, literature, graphic narrative, journalism, etc.). These formulas will be supported with examples from canonical texts from literary and cinematographic traditions.

The strategy used to create these formulas consists of studying the key concepts of narrative tradition, especially the theory of the novel, the theory of the story and the theory of cinema, as well as studying the inchoative theory (which is to say, the theory of the narrative beginning) and the terminative theory (which is to say, the theory of the narrative ending) all of them framed by the paradigmatic approximation (which is to say, in the distinction between classic, modern, and postmodern narrative). Thus, these formulas are useful to analyze any narrative material in any format or medium.

There are at least three disciplinary and interdisciplinary reasons to justify the creation of these formulas: their logical antecedents in semiotics, the linguistic origins of semiotics, and the demand for legitimization of all interdisciplinary approximation. In the case of semiotics, their logical antecedents are evident in the work of the creator of this discipline, Charles S. Peirce. He himself was a philosophy professor specializing in modern logic, although his academic work was "notably well-rounded" (T. Sebeok & J. Sebeok, 1979: 87). In the case of structural linguistics, this is found in the methodological basis of a large part of classic narrative, with which structuralism has become the most productive linguistics theory in the study of the narrative (Valles-Mingo, 2009: 21). And the creation of formulas in the field of humanities and social sciences (like that which occurs in Lacan psychoanalysis, structural anthropology and the Theory of Design), although it has been no stranger to controversy, responds to a demand for legitimization when these disciplines take on an interdisciplinary nature (Klein, 1996: 128).

At the same time, the production of formulas in narratology satisfied at least three disciplinary objectives: methodological utility, universal scope and practical applicability. The methodological utility of creating narrative formulas is evident due to the need to have models of analysis that have the highest accuracy possible. Its universal scope con- sists of formalizing of a series of strategies that are present in any narrative material. And its practical applicability consists of its possible use in narrative production processes, in other words, in the creation of movies, novels, stories, video games and other forms of narration.

Narratological Background

Narratological tradition is based on the elaboration of conceptual systems of universal utility. This tradition goes back to the first works of Russian formalism. In particular, it was Viktor Sklovski who in 1913 proposed the concept of *ostrannenie* or defamiliarization to distinguish the formal trait that distinguishes any work of modern art, and this foundational concept continues to be pertinent in the study of the most experimental forms of contemporary narrative (Van den Oever, 2013: 12). In 1938, Bertolt Brecht proposes in dramatic theory the concept of *Verfremdung* or distancing, as a strategy leading to ideological awareness via stimulating the capability of astonishment of spectators.

The first system of narrative formulas was proposed in 1928 by Vladimir Propp in his *Morphology of the Folk Tale*, where the Russian researcher deviates from the genetic tradition (in other words, the study of the origins of the traditional folk tale), which dominated at that time, and proposes a synchronic approximation (Propp, 1928: 17). Half a century later, these formulas were used to study the structural evolution of the classic western, in its modern versions, which is a reflection of the ideological universe of its spectators (Wright, 1976: 27). Although this is a field of narratology that is far from literature, it is an important antecedent in the search for a system of formulas of universal nature.

In 1928, Boris, in his *Theory of Literature*, proposed the original distinction between the story and discourse, which is to say, between the content and structure of the narrative sequence, a distinction supported by the syntactic construction and the existence of structural units in all narrative material (1928: 64).

In 1935, Sergei Eisenstein proposed, in his theory of cinematographic montage, the distinction between logical order (*vorschlag*) and chronological order (*nachslag*) of all narration, which constitutes a notable contribution to the universal definition of narration.

During the second half of the 20th century, French structural narratology produced notable theoretical proposals. In 1966, Algirdas J. Greimas proposed, among many other concepts, that of narrative isotopy, which is semantic in nature, or in other words, of linguistic origin. Afterwards, Gérard Genette establishes the distinction between order, duration, and frequency in the study of narrative time (Genette, 1972: 33). On the other hand, in 1958 Roland Barthes established the distinction between knots and catalysts in all narration. While knots are essential for the existence of a story, catalysts between knots perform a connective function. A few years later, Barthes himself indicated the existence of what he called the "strategies of narrative seduction" (Barthes, 1970b: 26), those such as suspense, dilation, alteration, suspense and the blocking of the solution to the narrative enigma, all of which maintain the attention of the reader or spectator.

This century has produced various panoramic compendiums on the state of the narratology. In 1999, Suzanne Keen published her *Narrative Form*, and during that same year appeared *Lingüística de textos narrativos*, by Jean-Michel Adam and Clara-Ubaldina Lorda. In 2001, an English version of the Dutch *Handbook of Narrative Analysis*, by Luc Hermann and Bart Vervaeck, was published and in 2009 another work of Dutch origin, *Film Narratology*, by Peter Verstratten, was translated. Both discuss the proposals created in 1995 by Francois Jost and André Gaudreault in their *Cine y narratología.*

As you can see, until now no system of narrative formulas has been proposed that would determine the structural nature of any narrative product. The formulas to be presented are derived from the theory of the novel (for the study of suspense and narrative surprise); the theory of the folk tale (for the study of conjectural narrative); the theory of cinema (for the study of guilt transfer), and the inchoative theory (for the study of the beginning and end of all narration).

First Narrative Formulas

A first group of narrative formulas belongs to what can be considered general structural strategies: suspense, surprise, guilt transference and the detective story. The following contains the introduction of these formulas and their examples in cinema and literature.

In *narrative suspense*, what is suspended is the moment in which narrative truth is revealed to the protagonist, who during the story ignores this truth, and frequently ignores that he is victim of deceit. It is about a truth that determines the meaning of the narration itself, like the uncovering of the real identity of a criminal or the revealing of a family secret or any other substantial truth for the existence of the narration itself. *Suspending* the revelation of a truth, that generally is kept a secret, does not mean canceling this revelation, but rather the discovery of this truth is postponed (in other words, suspended) to be revealed to the protagonist at a specific time in the story, which generally coincides with the end. This final revelation is called a *character epiphany.*

In other words, the narrative suspense consists of the spectator (or reader) knowing something that the character does not. This narrative principle, particular of classic narrative, is the first of the narrative formulas, precisely the Formula of Narrative Suspense: (S s, C -s), which is read in the following manner: the Spectator (S), knows something (s) that the Character (C) does not (-s). The narrative instance (which we could consider as the implicit author of the story) thus creates a type of complicity with the reader or spectator, upon confiding in him a secret that is kept unknown to the character (or characters).

For Roland Barthes, the narrative suspense is the most important strategy of the process of narrative seduction that establishes the 19th-century realist narration, as he demonstrated himself in the study of the novel *Sarrazine* de Balzac (Barthes, 1970: 28). Narrative suspense is already present in the classic tradition (like in the plot of *Oedipus Rex*, by Sofocles) and defines the narrative structure of narrative of genre cinema (especially in the cases of fantasy, detective, horror and science fiction). In the case of *Oedipus Rex*, we the spectator know that the protagonist has sex with his mother and kills his father, but he will only come to know it later on, and it is this knowledge that will cause the tragedy.

In some canonical films of detective cinema, like *Rope, Blackmail* and *Sabotage* (all directed by Alfred Hitchcock), the first minutes show the spectator, on the screen, which character or characters deliberately commit a crime and sometimes with very detailed planning. However, the rest of the characters ignore this fact during the entire plot, and on occasions, like in *Blackmail*, they ignore it completely.

In the film *Wait Until Dark* (1967), the protagonist is blind and receives the unexpected visit of various strangers in her own apartment, who try to trick her, taking advantage of her disability. We the spectators know things that she ignores (like the mobiles that these characters have) and we can see things that she cannot see, all of which creates a permanent feeling of suspense.

In *Marnie* (1964), we see the protagonist enter an office, after hours, and take an important document. When she gets ready to leave the office, the camera moves to the left, and while we see her in the right half of the screen, we see in the left half a woman mopping the floor and who has her back to us. At that moment, the protagonist drops an object that makes a lot of noise and only afterwards will we know that it doesn't matter because the cleaning lady is deaf.

Narrative suspense is always accompanied by *narrative surprise*. In this case, it is the narrator who knows something that the spectator (or reader) does not. The resource is called the Formula of Surprise: (N s, S -s), which is read in the following manner: the Narrator (N), knows something (s) that the Spectator (S) does not (-s). The spectator may know something is going to happen, but ignores *what* it will be or *when* it will happen. The spectator will be surprised by the narrator (or the narrative instance, in general).

In *Rope*, although we know who committed the crime of the student (because we saw this crime being committed in the first minute of the film), it will surprise us to know who discovers it and how he discovers it. In *Marnie*, the thief surprises us by discovering, in a conversation between characters, that the cleaning lady is deaf.

But the surprise of the reader or spectator does not always occur when there is suspense. A large part of the attraction that detective stories have for their readers or spectators consists of knowing how the private detective discovers the secret that we couldn't figure out, although we had access to all the clues. This revelation is a surprise for the reader or spectator. Surprise is the main element in horror films, where new strategies of surprise are being continuously created. This genre is defined by the existence of all types of threats and we often ignore the *where, when*, and *why* they originate.

Films directed by Alfred Hitchcock, during 48 years of his career (from 1926 to 1974) are essential examples when studying narrative suspense (that hides a truth from a character) and surprise (that hides a truth from the spectator). In these films, the suspense is often construed based on a *transfer of guilt*. The Formula of Transference of Guilt (C s (a), S c (b)) means that the characters (C) believe that someone (a) is guilty of a crime (c), but the Spectator (S) knows that the real guilty party (c) is another (b).

At the beginning of *Saboteur* (1942) we see a man planting a bomb in a building and setting the timer to program its explosion. The next day, at breakfast, this same man sees an article about the explosion on the front page of the newspaper and acts surprised about it in front of his wife. But we know that he is guilty of the crime. *In Strangers on a Train* (1951) we know the pact that two strangers make when they meet by chance during a train ride. This pact consists of, precisely, that each one of them will commit a crime that the other wants to commit without being discovered. Being a movie of the *film noir* genre, there are different degrees of moral ambiguity in each of the characters, which ends up causing more than one transfer of guilt.

In the detective story, which is to say, in the *conjectural narrative*, the reader (or spectator) knows that there is a crime and knows some circumstantial elements (like the victim's identity, the place and time of the crime), but completely ignores who committed it (the *whodunit*). In this type of story we find an epiphanic truth, in other words, a truth that should be revealed at the end of the story. In the Formula of *Whodunit* (N s (c), E -s (c)), the Narrator (N) knows (s) who committed the crime (c), but the Spectator (S) does not (-s), and will try to find out during the process of the reading. The detective story engages the reader's abductive reasoning ability, in other words, his ability to develop a hypothesis based on signs, clues, and figures of speech (Eco, 1983: 275).

Narration that proposes an enigma to resolve goes all the way back to Voltaire and other writers. However, it was Edgar Allan Poe who created the fundamental rules that are valid for all texts of this genre. Other detective story writers have developed other, more elaborate rules, like W. S. Van Dine, Ronald A. Knox, Jorge Luis Borges, Raymond Chandler and Patricia Highsmith (Zavala, 1995: 309-428). In all cases, the end usually presents the revealing of the epiphanic truth that resolves the enigma. This is the narrative mechanism that we find in detective stories by Arthur Conan Doyle, Edgar Alan Poe and Bustos Domecq, as well as the novels of Agatha Christie, G. K. Chesterton and others. These strategies are used in TV series of the first decade of the 2000s like *Dr. House* (on medical research) and *Lie to Me* (on body language research).

The Beginning and End in the Classic Narrative

The following are the formulas for the beginning and ending of classic, modern and postmodern types. Here it is important to remember the paradigm of the classic that refers to all that is timeless and conventional, and whose efficacy is universal. On the other hand, the modern is all that is opposite of the classic, which is to say, that comes from an individual vision, and to that extent is unique and unrepeatable. In this sense, the classic narrative is the most accessible and didactic (like in the case of genre cinema). Meanwhile, the modern narrative is the most experimental and vanguard, demanding and difficult to access. While classic narrative is based on tradition, the modern narrative is based on the personal vision of the author. While a classic narration is structurally similar to any other classic narration, each modern narration, in structural terms, is different from any other narration.

The postmodern narrative is paradoxical and tends to be ironic, as it consists of the simultaneous presence of classic and modern aspects in the same text or the presence of simulations of the classic and the modern. The simultaneity leads to using strategies like genre hybridization. Simulations lead to using resources like metaparody, which is to say, the parody of genre aspects. In general terms, the postmodern narrative is a form of extemporaneous recovery or ironic recycling of the conventions of classic narrative.

The inchoative theory is the branch of narratology that studies the beginning of the narrative. It is based on the principles that support the terminative theory. In other words, its is the field of narratology that studies the end of the narrative. In other words, the study of the strategies used to begin a narration come from the study of the strategies used to end the narration. Both theories are inseparable in the same way that all narration that ends is a narration that begins. Inchoative narratology is a strategic field to study any form of narration. In the following, I propose a series of formulas derived from narratological tradition. Among the most outstanding work on the inchoative theory is that by Frank Kermode (1986), Richard Neupert (1995), Marco Kunz (1997) and James MacDowell (2014).

Classic Inchoative Formulas

The *classic beginning* of a story consists of going from background (B) to foreground (F) in terms of time (t) and space (e). Therefore, the Classic Beginning Formula is $(B\ (t, e) \rightarrow F\ (t, e)\ )$. The Background (B) is a panoramic vision, overall, that allows one to know the context where the story will occur and who the characters are. The Foreground (F) is a perspective where a detail is observed, in other words, something very particular that could not be perceived accurately if observed in the Background. This is to say that the classic beginning goes from the most general to the most specific in a narrative movement that goes from the general context until arriving at the specific text. The classic beginning is often accompanied by narrative resources such as the explicit cataphora (when what is going to be narrated is announced); the intrigue of predestination (when the end of the story is announced at the beginning), and the establishment of the narrative suspense (when complicity is established by the narrator offering the spectator knowledge of something that the characters ignore). The classic beginning is characteristic of the realist novel, genre cinema and the detective story.

Let's examine for a moment the first scenes of the movie *Psycho* (1960), by director Alfred Hitchcock. Immediately after the opening credits we see a panoramic view of the city observed from a considerable height. While the camera begins moving over the city and starts to focus in on one particular building, the name of the city and the state (Phoenix, Arizona) appear on screen. After that, the day and the month (Thursday, August 24th) appear on screen. And finally, just before the camera stops in front of the building window, the exact time (4:23 pm) appears. In this way, in just a few seconds, we have gone from B (background) of time and space (the city in the month of August) to F (foreground) of time and space (a specific window of a particular building, observed at 4:23 pm on Thursday, the 24th).

Going from Background to Foreground is didactic in nature, as it gives the spectator or reader the chance to identify the place and the moment in which the story will occur. Thus, for example, 19th-century novels by Balzac, Stendhal and Zola (Levin, 1974: 71), the stories of Poe (Meyers, 2000: 124) and the romantic comedies of Hollywood (Echart, 2005: 87) tend to begin showing a situation of general nature (in terms of time and space) where the story is set. This principle is applicable to any type of narration, like the case of classic documentary cinema. Thus, for example, *Nanook of the North* (John Flaherty, 1922) begins showing a map of the region where the family lives. Then we see each one of the Nanook family members get out of the kayak, including the wife, children, grandparents and the dog that accompanies them on their journeys.

The *classic final is* epiphanic, in other words, resolves all the narrative enigmas introduced throughout the story. This type of ending is often surprising and also coherent with the rest of the story. The classic final is closed and unique. It is an ending that is necessary to resolve the enigmas introduced and gives the reader a sense of inevitability in retrospect. In other words, it gives them a sense that this ending was necessary and inevitable (Hills, 1987: 24). The Formula of the Classic Ending is: (C (e) = T (1)). This formula establishes that the ending (e) that is classic (C) is equivalent to a sole (1) truth (T). Of course, it is a fictional truth, which is to say, a truth that depends on the context of enunciation, in this case of narrative nature. The classic ending corresponds to the solution of the circular labyrinth. This means the type of construction (in this case, a narrative construction) where there is only one entrance and one exit. In the classic ending, the fictional truth is revealed giving the story sense and coherence. For this reason, the ending can be considered as the space of the fictional epistemic revelation.

Here it is useful to remember the proposal by Borges that states that every story (or every film) always tells two stories: an evident story that is dominant throughout the text and another story that is hidden and only revealed at the end, in a surprising way. The classic ending is surprising to the extent that it materializes the eruption of the story that has been recessive and a guest throughout the tale, and is thus revealed as the real, dominant, host story (Borges in Zavala, 1993: 39). Based on this idea, it can be stated that the classic ending is an anaphoric ending, in other words, an ending that gathers together the elements that were introduced throughout the story. This means that this ending makes sense thanks to the reading of the rest of the text.

Finally, upon studying the classic ending you can see the importance it has, what the musician John Cage called the Paradox of Host. This paradox is produced in a situation where an element that is originally only a guest –in this case, the hidden story- ends up being revealed as the real host –in this case, the element that contains the narrative truth - (Ulmer, 1985: 136). All of these aspects of the classic ending are found in *Madame Bovary*, *Don Quijote de La Mancha*, The *Odyssey*, at the end of each one of the stories by Boccaccio, in detective stories and in musical comedies. The classic ending resolves all the enigmas introduced throughout the story.

The end of North by *Northwest* (1954) by Alfred Hitchcock is exemplary because all the narrative enigmas of the 5 stories introduced in the plot are resolved in the final seconds of the last minute: the protagonist saves his own life and that of his partner; he is able to recover the lost microfilm; he also recovers his own identity, materialized in his name (that he can now give to his new wife); the side that the woman he is in love with belongs to is revealed, and he reaches the maturity that being married means. Thus, after two hours of setbacks and the introduction of numerous narrative enigmas, the adventure story, the political story, the espionage story, the Oedipal story, and the romance story are all resolved simultaneously.

The prestigious novel *Manhattan Transfer* (1925), by John Dos Passos, narrates the stories of numerous characters that live in Manhattan. In the last pages of the book, all of them meet in the train station (Manhattan Transfer), offering the image of a diverse city, full of life and with many tales worth telling.

Modern Inchoative Formulas

The m*odern beginning* is one that distances itself from the rules of the classic beginning. While the classic narrative is based on tradition, the modern narrative is casuistic (each case is unique), unrepeatable (cannot be defined by a sole strategy) and depends on the vision of each creator (like that which occurs in auteur cinema). The Formula of the Modern Beginning is (M (i) ≠ C (i)). This formula means that the modern beginning, M (i), is equivalent to all that which is different from or opposite (≠) the classic beginning, C (i).

The modern beginning is often expressionist (expresses some form of anguish) and is frequently complex, enigmatic and confusing. The modern beginning is many times anaphoric, meaning that the most important part of the story (usually the end) occurs before the initial sequence. In other words, the modern beginning often takes place *in medias res*, in the middle of the story or even when it is over. When the film begins, the most important part of the story has usually occurred.

The modern beginning usually starts showing Foreground, which is to say, something very particular that occurs at an undetermined time and space, which introduces an enigma that is not always resolved during or at the end of the story. Where did the action we see onscreen occur? Who are the characters and why are they there? How did this particular situation happen? These and other questions are inevitable when watching a modern beginning. If the narration has a modern ending none of these questions will be answered at any moment. For this reason, each modern narration is different from another.

The Metamorphosis by Franz Kafka has a modern beginning, because when Gregorio Samsa wakes up having been converted into an insect (from the narrator's perspective), the most important part has already occurred, that is, everything that caused this deplorable situation. The first chapter of

Ulysses by James Joyce is enigmatic, confusing and complex, and the rest of the novel will emphasize these aspects. The first lines of *In Search of Lost Time* by Marcel Proust are focused on the memory of a very specific experience in the life of the narrator (the experience of eating a certain type of bread), which will lead him to initiate the narration of the most memorable moments of his personal life.

The *modern ending* is open, undetermined and multiple. The possible conclusion or narrative denouement is left up to the reader's imagination. The indetermination puts emphasis not on the text and its epistemic or moral meaning, but on the reader and his personal and reading experience. The Formula of the Modern Ending is (M (e) = ∑ (e)), which means that the modern ending, M (e) has more than one ending, ∑ (e), in which the symbol ∑ should be read as *many* or *more than one*. The modern ending is an open ending, and therefore can be described in this other way: (M (e) = ∑ (T(n))), which means that the modern ending, M (f), contains a multiplication (∑) of possible truths, in which (n) is equal to any whole number. In other words, the modern ending is open to the interpretation of each reader. It is an undetermined ending that is ambiguous, open, and incomplete.

The modern ending corresponds to a tree-shaped labyrinth, which is to say, the type of architectonic or textual construction where there is a sole entrance (the introduction of determined narrative enigmas) and multiple exits or valid solutions, whether they are simultaneous or alternating. It is a cataphoric ending, and therefore, promotes the reader to carry out an ironic rereading of the text.

The *Lady with the Dog* is the story that Russian writer Vladimir Nabokov considers as paradigmatic of modern literature. In the *Course on Russian Literature,* that contains the notes of the course that he taught for various years at Princeton University, the modernity of this story is explained. Written in the last decade of the 19th century, this story has an undetermined end. The protagonists are happily married with their respective couples, but they meet and fall in love, and have secret encounters for several years. In the final paragraph of the story they speak about what they should do with their lives. But we will never know for sure what decision they make. So it will be the reader (if he so decides) that will conclude the story in his imagination. This type of ending is known as the *open ending.*

Postmodern Inchoative Formulas

The *postmodern beginning* is produced by the juxtaposition of the aspects of the classic beginning and the modern beginning. This paradoxical nature creates two characteristic mechanisms of postmodern aesthetic: simultaneities and simulations (both classic and modern). The Formula of the Postmodern Beginning is (PM (b) = ∑ (C (b) + M (b))), which means that in the postmodern beginning, PM (b), a classic beginning, C (b), and a modern beginning, M (b) coexist (∑). The postmodern beginning is classic and modern at the same time; closed and open; contains traditional and experimental aspects; resolves narrative enigmas and at the same time introduces new enigmas. It has, like all postmodern aesthetic, a playful, paradoxical, and self-referencing beginning.

The postmodern beginning can be read as a classic beginning or as a modern beginning, either alternatingly or simultaneously. This means that it can be read as conventional and allegoric at the same time. This is to say that it is didactic and enigmatic, conventional and unrepeatable. The postmodern beginning has identifiable aspects that are classic, but it is sufficiently ironic and ambiguous so that the spectator can play with it in his imagination.

The postmodern beginning tends to be hybrid and metafictional, making a theme out of its own inchoative nature and using narrative resources from opposing traditions. For example, the first seven minutes of the Chicano film *Zoot Suit* (1982) has fixed and in-movement images; images in color and others in black and white. This beginning alludes to a historical past and the present of the characters. It establishes a distinction between to see and to be seen (as spectators of this film we see spectators arriving to the theater at the beginning of the show and taking their seats, but we also enjoy the show that they observe from their theater seats). It mixes elements of documentary cinema and fiction cinema; juxtaposition strategies of more spectacular musical cinema and reflexivity strategies of Brechtian theater of artistic and political vanguard.

The novel *The Name of the Rose* (1980) by Umberto Eco begins with the story of the apocryphal narrator that reveals how the manuscript was found that is going to be read. This is to say, it makes a theme out of (it becomes the theme of the narration) the act of reading this novel. This novel has a metafictional beginning. In the first paragraph of the Italian novel

If on a winter's night a traveller, by Italo Calvinoa theme is made out of reading the first paragraph:

> You are about to begin reading Italo Calvino's new novel, If on a winter's night a traveler. Relax. Concentrate. Dispel every other thought. Let the world around you fade. Best to close the door; the TV is always on in the next room. Tell the others right away, "No, I don't want to watch TV!" Raise your voice--they won't hear you otherwise--"I'm reading! I don't want to be disturbed!" Maybe they haven't heard you, with all that racket; speak louder, yell: "I'm beginning to read Italo Calvino's new novel!" Or if you prefer, don't say anything; just hope they'll leave you alone. (Calvino, 1980: 9).

In the first line of the novel *The Old Gringo* (1986) by Carlos Fuentes, it says: "Now she sits alone and remembers". This sentence is simultaneously anaphoric and cataphoric. It is cataphoric (in other words, announces what's to come) because the woman sits down to remember, and those memories will be the material of the rest of the novel. But at the same time, this first line of the novel is also anaphoric (in other words, refers to something that happened previously), because all that is about to be told occurred before, and now is part of a memory.

The initial sequence of the film *Amélie* (2001) has a postmodern beginning, presenting Foreground and Background at the same time. It is Foreground of chronological nature when showing the precise moment in which Amélie was conceived. And it is a Background of spatial nature when showing some of the events that are occurring in the universe at that particular moment in time (a fly is crushed by a car; some glasses dance in the wind without anyone observing them; a man erases from his agenda the name of a friend who has recently died).

The first two minutes of *The Woman Next Door* (1981) by Francois Truffaut are made like a system of simulations: one classic beginning simulation ("You could say this story began 10 years ago, but no: it began 6 months ago"); a modern beginning simulation ("The ambulance arrived too late, because it came from Champfleury"); a simulation of identity ("If you think I am a tennis player, you're wrong; back the camera up so that you can see well"); a simulation of spontaneity ("Let's go sit over there; no, over here"), and a simulation of register ("The family is posing in front of their house for a photographer who never arrived").

The postmodern ending is paradoxical and ironic because it has, as simulations, the coexistence of a true, unique ending (classic) and an open, multiple ending (modern). The ultimate meaning of a postmodern ending depends on the interpretation that each reader makes of it and it can change with each reading. The Formula of the Postmodern Ending is (PM (e) = $\sum$ (C (e), M (e))). This means that the postmodern ending, PM (f), is the sum ($\sum$) of a classic ending, C (e) and a modern ending, M (e). The postmodern ending is a simultaneous open and closed ending, which is to say, PM (e) = $\sum$ (T (1), T (n)), where there is a unique truth, T (1), any many possible truths, T (n) at the same time.

The postmodern ending corresponds to the rhizomatic or reticulated labyrinth, where there can be simultaneously one and many exits (like a network). This ending tends to be parodic, and uses a generic intertextuality. This means that the postmodern ending tends to use ironic allusions to rules of classic narrative genres. The story "The Garden of Forking Paths" (1944) by Jorge Luis Borges has an ending that closes the spy story, but at the same time, it leaves open the philosophic argument regarding real nature and imaginary of time in the collective history. "Continuity of the Parks" (1959) by Julio Cortázar is the best example of a postmodern ending. While this ending remains open (given that it is not written into the story), at the same time, each reader, inevitably, imagines a denouement for the story (Zavala, 2007: 299-311).

The Chicano film *Zoot Suit* (1982) is the fictionalized reconstruction of a historic event. The story reconstructs what occurred in the real life of the protagonist. But after hearing the happy ending set to equally glorious background music, the character that represents the Spirit of the Race says to Henry Reyna: "Great! *Happy Ending* and everything. But that is not the way life is, Hank". When this symbolic character cracks his knuckles we know the different versions of what could have happened in the life of this Chicano, from the perspective of American law; socialist party activism; the struggle for human rights, and the girlfriend who waited for him for various years while he finished his prison sentence (Zavala, 1993: 66-68).

Conclusion

Having a system of narrative formulas can contribute to the study of specific fields of contemporary narratology, such as: the theory of adaption, the theory of semiotic translation, the theory of genres, and the incipient theory of medical narratology. In the theory of adaption, the utility of narrative formulas consists of the possibility to compare the inchoative and terminative nature of the original literary text and the filmic text, thus determining the way the conditions of cinematographic production contribute to preserving or modifying the original nature of the literary material. In the theory of semiotic translation, the formulas can be used to study the conditions in which it works within a same semiotic system, like cinema (in the cases of *remake, retake*, tribute or parody) or upon studying the translation of a semiotic system to another (like changing from the literary to the cinematographic format).

In the theory of genres, narrative formulas are useful for determining resources used when changing from one narrative system (like the daily press or the graphic narrative) to another narrative system (like the documentary or the novel). In medical narratology (an instrumental variation of narratology), the narrative formulas can be at the service of a typology of resources that are useful for supporting the treatment of different cases with particular needs.

On the other hand, the existence of a system of narrative formulas like the one presented in this article can contribute to a systemization of workshops for the training of story narrators (in film or literature), thus showing where theoretical models belong in the preparation of story writers. The narrative formulas presented come from the observation of different theoretical traditions and the study of the canonical textual production in film and literature. These proposals leave the road open to continue exploring this relatively new field of contemporary narratology.

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How to Cite:

The place of the self and the others: Reiterative spaces in the Bolivian cinema (The Altiplano and the city of La Paz)

El lugar de lo propio y lo ajeno: los espacios reiterativos en el cine boliviano (El Altiplano y la ciudad de La Paz)

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Resumen

El cine boliviano ha filmado con obsesión dos espacios en particular: la ciudad de La Paz y el Altiplano, cercano a la urbe. La razón por este interés no es difícil de adivinar: son los espacios en donde se ha jugado gran parte de la historia política de Bolivia. El texto presente analiza el cine boliviano desde el punto de vista del espacio, reflexiona acerca de los contenidos y las características que los cineastas bolivianos han asignado a la ciudad de La Paz como al Altiplano, y se describe cómo los cineastas han representado la relación entre el campo y la ciudad. En el análisis de los dos espacios, se hace patente una búsqueda obsesiva por la identidad y la pregunta por el otro, que se traduce formalmente en narrativas circulares. Se ha realizado un análisis plano por plano del corpus, apoyado en la noción de espacio fílmico, tal como lo propone Eric Rohmer..

Palabras clave

Cine boliviano, espacio fílmico, identidad, campo, ciudad.

Abstract

The Bolivian cinema has filmed two spaces in particular: the city of La Paz and the Altiplano, near to the city. The reason for this interest is not difficult to guess: they are the spaces where it has played much of the political history of Bolivia. Being a cinema with very political characteristics is clear that Bolivian filmmakers should install their cameras in such spaces. This paper will analyze the Bolivian cinema from the point of view of space. It will think about the contents, characteristics that Bolivian filmmakers have given both the city of La Paz and the Altiplano. Understand how the Bolivian cinema has showing the relationship between town and country. In the analysis of the two spaces, an obsessive search for identity and the question for the other becomes evident.   A shot-by-shot analysis of the corpus has been carried out, supported by the notion of filmic space, as proposed by Eric Rohmer.

Keywords

Bolivian cinema, Filmic space, identity, countryside, city.

1. Introduction

Bolivian cinema has filmed two spaces in particular: the city of La Paz and the Altiplano near to the city. The reason for this interest is not difficult to guess: they are the spaces much of the political history of Bolivia has been played out. Being a cinema with very political characteristics is clear that Bolivian filmmakers should install their cameras in such spaces.

Thus, an important perspective in order to analyze Bolivian cinema is the comprehension of these spaces. It involves reflecting on the content, the characteristics that filmmakers have given the city of La Paz as well as the Altiplano. The objective is to understand how this cinematography has portrayed the relationships between the countryside and the city, and the images that filmmakers have given the city of La Paz as well as the Altiplano. This analysis not only has political implications, (the question about the "other"), but also existential implications (given that it implies inquiring about something so elusive and complex as identity) and, above all, it has aesthetic connotations because it sets the scene for a discussion that appears time and time again in Bolivian cinema.

In order to commence such analysis, mention will be made of the concept of filmic space of Eric Rohmer. Said notion obligates reflection on the form of Bolivian films, which is to say, aesthetics. Nevertheless, as previously mentioned, the aesthetic perspective will quickly overflow into one that is political and existential. After defining the concept of filmic space, the next step is to analyze Bolivian films made in the western part of the country (La Paz, Oruro, Potosí) paying particular attention to the opposition between the city of La Paz and the Altiplano.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. A Cinema in Search of Identity

The main problem in the Bolivian seventh art is an obsessive search for the elusive national identity. Thus, as Mary Carmen Molina states so well (2014):

> the thematic and aesthetic concerns of cinema made in Bolivia had, have, and will have to do with complex and obsessive reflection –from diverse, multiple, and conflicting standpoints; ideological and political stances; aesthetic and ethical objectives; artistic convictions and visions– on cultural tensions –encounters and conflicts, dialogues and confrontations– that define us and in which we live our drawn out routine and transcending history (160).

In a country that recognizes, since 2009, the existence of 35 different cultural groups in a population of less than 10 million (Asamblea Constituyente de Bolivia, 2008) the question of identity must necessarily consider the relationships between the different cultures present. Thus, asking about Bolivian identity implies putting into question the relationship with the other, the indigenous, whom throughout history are understood to have been marginalized by the State.

> The conflict of Bolivian identity is defined by the confrontation between a repressed, indigenous majority and a white, privileged minority. Cinema has attempted to search for the aspects of this repressed culture, find its cultural richness, and bring it out of its clandestinity. Being a cinema that aims to be political and revolutionary, it is clear that its main theme should be the indigenous, as a marginal but fundamental entity for a country like Bolivia. The attempt to give an image of this clandestine nation –which is to say a population of customs and ways of seeing the world differently from the west and that is marginalized by the Official State for this very reason– is imminently a political position (Morales, 2015: 66-67).

Bolivian cinema is very political and when asking about identity, it necessarily must question the place of the indigenous in a historically excluding State. For this reason Bolivian cinema is interested in the two spaces where the indigenous is found (highland), the Altiplano and the outskirts of the country's political center: La Paz (Morales, 2011). The two spaces appear as a metaphor of a certain existential, political situation of the indigenous.

2.2. Filmic Space

The chosen perspective requires the mentioning of a series of concepts that will serve as a guide for later analysis. Above all, it is necessary to define what is going to be understood as space in cinema based on formal considerations. This is because the author of the cinematographic work, who creates its structure, who chooses a certain conception of the stage and defines the formal aspects of the setting of the scene, asks himself, at first instance, about the temporary and spatial aspects that are going to appear in the movie. According to Rohmer (2004): "[i]n the logic of an art that, being par excellence the art of movement, must organize its codes of meaning to be used based on a general concept, whether it be time or space" (42).

Now, how should space be understood in cinema? According to Rohmer, there are three spaces that coexist in film and that define the setting of the scene and therefore, propose a way of understanding space. The first is pictorial space, defined by Rohmer (2000) as follows: "[t]he cinematographic image projected on the rectangular screen -as fleeting or mobile that it may be-, is perceived and understood as the more or less true representation, more or less beautiful representation of or such part of the outside world" (6). With this first type, Rohmer seeks to find the pictorial relationships of the cinematographic image, which is to say, understand this image as *frame*. Here there are pictorial categories like those of composition, light, as well as color.

The second space is named by Rohmer as the architectural space. This space is merely referential and can be defined simply as the: "parts of the world, natural or created, provided by an objective experience" (Aumont and Marie, 1990: 174). The architectural space comprises all those elements that you could call objects in the film, which is to say, the objects that are shown on screen. The analysis of this type of space has to do, above all, with filming sites, with locations.

The last category is filmic space. At first instance, Rohmer (2000) tries to define this concept stating that: "it is not the space filmed that the spectator is imagining, but rather a virtual space reconstructed in his imagination, thanks to pieces of elements that the film offers" (7). In order to comprehend what Rohmer understands as "a virtual space" the cinematographic concepts of "on screen" and "off screen" must be specified as well as the relationships that exist between both categories. "The on screen is usually seen as the only visible part of a broader space that undoubtedly exists around it" (Au-mont et al. 2008:24, p. 24). The off screen, in contrast:

> "is essentially linked to the on screen given that it only exists based on this; it could be defined as the sum of elements (characters, sets, etc.) that, although they are not included in the on screen, they are nevertheless assigned in the imagination, by the spectator, via any type of media" (Aumont et al. 2008: 24).

Between the onscreen and the off screen there is always a relationship of reversibility. This is to say, that what appears at first instance in the off screen can appear later in the on screen and vice-versa with a simple camera movement or with a change in scene using the montage. Together the two form a unit called filmic space. It is a space under construction, made up of what is seen (on screen) and what is not seen (off screen). This space can only be found in the spirit of the spectator, and is created by him in his imagination based on what is seen on screen. Thus:

> The cinematographic space would be defined in relation to the space of the scene, as well as the narrowness of the surface of visibility and the expanse of the place of action. It is not, therefore, just the inside of each one of the shots that the filmmaker must determine based on a certain conception of spacing, but rather the total filmed space" (Rohmer, 2004: 42).

The on screen and off screen dynamic is essentially based on two cinematographic mechanisms: the montage and camera movements. Upon determining the content of this virtual space, it's possible to discover common notions, and specific elements of a filmmaker or of a tendency. Thus, the camera movements and the analysis of the montage are key in the proposed methodology.

3. Methodology

A detailed analysis of Bolivian films has begun and for this reason it has been decided not to go too into detail. This work does not aim to tell about the history, but rather a cinema aesthetic. Two criteria have been proposed in order to choose the films analyzed in this essay:

a) Discourse on space: the films chosen portray throughout and based on the *form* a discourse on space.

b) Architectural spaces: This essay is interested, above all, in the way that the city and the Altiplano have been represented. The films chosen do not only bring up the two spaces, but also show, in the description of both and their correlation, an aesthetic, political and/or existential discourse. In the descriptions of the city, preference was given to films that talk about La Paz considering its proximity to the Altiplano.

According to Espinoza and Laguna (2014), throughout the 20th century, 40 full-length films were made in Bolivia, while between 2003 and 2013, 70 movies were made. Evidently, many of these films do not comply with the previously-mentioned criteria. Thus, to find perspectives of analysis, with a collection of sufficiently representative films, its necessary to consider a long period of time. Likewise, with the goal of outlining some aspects that future Bolivian cinema could propose, short films by young filmmakers belonging to a group self-proclaimed as Socavón Cine have been considered. This collective, according to Espinoza (2015), may be bringing about a new style of Bolivian cinema. In a comparative analysis, it's worth recognizing the repeated and unique aspects in what could be called "classic cinema" and "contemporary cinema", in terms of the use of space.

The previously-mentioned criteria have made it possible to build a collection including the films of Jorge Ruiz, Jorge Sanjinés, Antonio Eguino and works by young filmmakers Carlos Piñeiro and Kiro Russo. In certain specific themes, the analysis has included fragments of other films that do not comply with the criteria in order to propose future reading prospects in regards to Bolivian cinema that exceed the limitations of this essay. The following are the films selected according to the proposed criteria:

Table 1: Films and Short Films Analyzed

YEAR	FILM / SHOR FILM	DIRECTOR
1953	*Vuelve Sebastiana*	Jorge Ruiz
1966	*Ukamau*	Jorge Sanjinés
1969	*Yawar Malku*	Jorge Sanjinés
1977	*Chuquiago*	Antonio Eugenio
1989	*La nación clandestina*	Jorge Sanjinés
2003	*Dependencia sexual*	Rodrigo Bellot
2009	*Rojo, Amarillo, Verde*	Martín Boulocq, Rodrigo Bellot y Sergio Bastani
2010	*Enterprisse*	Kiro Russo
2010	*Max jutan* (cortometraje)	Carlos Piñeiro
2013	*Plato Paceño* (cortometraje)	Carlos Piñeiro

Source: Author

The analysis of space in cinema as defined in the previous section implies a methodology that gives preference to the formal aspects of Bolivian films. For this reason, a shot-by-shot or *découpage* analysis was done of the collection. Special attention has been given to the following aspects:

a) Location (the architectural space in which the shot has been filmed).

b) The movement of characters in the shot

c) Dialogues

d) Soundtrack

e) Frames

f) References off screen (glances, sounds, reflections, dialogues, etc.)

g) Camera movements

h) Match cut (transitions from one shot to another)

Based on the systematic description of the aspects mentioned, a comparative analysis has been done of the collection, finding similarities and differences in the treatment of space. The aspects they share have been grouped in different categories in order to find common aesthetic, political, and existential themes that run throughout Bolivian cinema regardless of genre, phases, or technological considerations.

4. The Cinematographic Space of the Indigenous: the Altiplano and the Hillside

"Classic" Bolivian cinema proposes the problem of identity by creating a juxtaposition between spaces foreign to the indigenous world and those that belong to it. Furthermore, these movies follow the assumption that the characters, for different reasons, want to be in the foreign space. In other words, the person that at first appears to be legitimate, given that he lives in the world that belongs to him, ends up alienating himself by way of a physical or spiritual journey. Thus, the protagonist must make a torturous trip back to return to the space considered as his own in order to fully understand what his identity means, always tied to a land. The places of the self and the other, in the collection chosen, are identified with the Altiplano and the city respectively.

Vuelve Sebastiana (1953) by Jorge Ruiz is probably the first Bolivian film to propose these dichotomic relationships. Sebastiana (Sebastiana Kespi) lives in an indigenous village that is so poor that its inhabitants cannot ensure their own survival. The film, with evidently ethnographic overtones, begins with a mythical tale. Ruiz relates the inhabitants of this village with a mysterious millenary culture: the Chullpas. After talking the mummies that which in the Ruiz's perspective correspond to the culture called Chullpas, a direct cut is made, to introduce Sebastiana, from the Chipaya village. She inhabits the space where these mortuary monuments will be found. This relationship gives Sebastiana a millenary cultural inheritance, based merely on the village's proximity to these archaeological remains.

One scene of the film shows the girl as she herds her sheep. She comes upon an Aymara boy who takes her to his village. Sebastiana is amazed by the prosperity found there, with seemingly no lack of commodities or food, in contrast to her own village. Due to Sebastiana's prolonged absence, her tired grandfather decides to go look for her. To convince her to come back, the grandfather appeals to the long tradition that their village has. Sebastiana understands the need for her return thanks to the wise explanations of her elderly grandfather. Unfortunately, the trip becomes too much for the grandfather to bear and he dies halfway home. The director's intentions are apparent, so much so that it's as if he's trying to teach them. The land and one's own territory are the inheritance of an identity that is as old as it is mysterious, and it must be taken care of.

Moreover, it is assumed that this inheritance is in evident danger due to the one-by-one disappearance of the members of the Chipaya village, heirs of the Chullpas. At the end of the film, the grandfather's sacrifice to go look for Sebastiana has a price: death. The grandfather's sacrifice serves as a lesson throughout her life, causing Sebastiana to become aware of the importance of her land. Each one of the members must uphold this tradition, remaining in the space they belong.

The opposition between the opulence of the Aymara town and the poverty of Sebastiana's village, se traduce into a problem of identity. Travelling means the loss of this enormous cultural inheritance, the loss of identity, a distancing from oneself. The film evokes a nostalgia for the past that is confusing and has a certain degree of conservatism, calling Sebastiana to accept sacrifice as a noble responsibility she must uphold to her own people and territory.

Jorge Sanjinés seems to be very influenced by the narrative proposed by Ruiz in *Vuelve Sebastiana*. So much that in his first film, *Ukamau* (1966), he also proposes as the *leitmotiv* a journey that implies a hard loss for the main character. The film tells the story of revenge between the Indian Andrés (Vicente Verneros) and the mestizo Rosendo (Néstor Peredo). The first must travel for several days to the town market. He leaves his wife Sabina (Benedicta Huanca) alone and defenseless. Rosendo takes advantage of the situation to rape and kill her. The distancing of Andrés, although temporary, a trip to and from town, implies a hard loss for him. Thus, it is not about a meaningless trip, but rather brings about a dichotomic concept of space. Andrés's initially

innocent trip is similar to Sebastiana's: "[i]n both films (*Ukamau* and *Vuelve Sebastiana*) there is a geographic boundary that separates both cultures. When the Indian crosses the geographic boundary, he automatically looses his own" (Kenny, 2009:111).

Rape, vexation, related to a loss of identity and the correlation between one's own space and foreign space can be found in films that appear completely opposite, thematically and formally-speaking, to the films of Sanjinés. Take, for example, *Dependencia sexual* (2003) by Rodrigo Bellot. In the sequence of the film that has to do directly with migration, Bellot follows the typical macho-type: Choco (Jorge Antonio Saavedra). The character seems to have a promising future, good friends, a beautiful girlfriend and very soon a study abroad trip. In this part of the film, Choco arrives in the USA. During the film's climax, the character is raped by a group of American football players in a parking lot. Although sexual violence appears in several of the film's stories, this sequence seems to have an enormous meaning in terms of the spatial point of view. The character who appears, in this own space in Santa Cruz, to be someone who is in control of his actions, including someone who is feared for his abrupt and unjustified acts of violence. Upon embarking on the journey, he completely loses this control of action. The United States appears here explicitly as a space of negation: of violation of the identity that until this moment defended the character.

Like in *Ukamau*, the rape appears like a taking of what belongs to one, operating as a movement towards a place of not belonging. Therefore, if the city is where Andrés loses what is his, only in the countryside can he regain it. The character doesn't decide to go to a judge or the police (to representatives of the official state), but instead decides to get revenge on the mestizo with his own hands. The plot for revenge is planned slowly. Andrés, following an Aymara concept of time, waits for the right moment to take action. One of the conditions that must occur in order to get revenge is find the mestizo in Andrés's own space, the Altiplano. Only here is the indigenous owner of himself, and his actions. Like in the case of *Vuelve Sebastiana*, *Ukamau* is also the story of a metaphoric return, of returning to pick up the reins once again.

In another film by Sanjinés, *Yawar Mallku* (1969) it is possible to find even more evidence of the topics that appear in the films mentioned. In the small town where Ignacio (Marcelino Yanahuaya) lives, all the women have trouble bearing children. The film's protagonist conducts an investigation resulting in him realizing that a group of American "volunteers" is sterilizing the women without their consent. Ignacio and the community decide to expel the foreigners with violence. During the confrontation, Ignacio is shot. He and his wife Paulina (Benedicta Huanca) go to the city to try to heal the wounds. In La Paz, the couple meets with Sixto (Vicente Verneros), Ignacio's brother. Likewise, the journeys of Sixto are narrated as he tracks down enough money to help heal the wounds of his brother.

Unfortunately, no one helps Ignacio and he ends up dying. After this roaming of the city, a fruitless coming and going through a space that Sixto finally recognizes as foreign to him, he decides once and for all to return to his town to continue the fight that his brother Ignacio has begun. In both stories there is a dichotomic conception of the spaces that appear on screen: the country and the city. According to Espinoza and Laguna (2009):

> the master Sanjinés shows us the confrontation between the rural and the urban, he shoes us the painful experiences of the inhabitants of a clandestine nation. (...) in the journey from the countryside to the city, Ignacio, Paulina and Sixto will come face to face with exclusion, with violence, with alienation, with harmony.(100-101).

In addition, as Kenny mentions (2009): "The city, Sixto's habitat, is the place where you breathe frustration, violence, racism and loneliness" (128). The author continues:

> In Yawar Mallku, like in Ukamau, two juxtaposing spaces are established, the country and the city. Individuals are also the result of their respective habitat. Thus, Sixto cannot change and be happy in the city. Realization is found in the return to the territory, where the ancestral culture has its geographic space (131).

In addition to seeing the urban space as a place of exclusion, of demonizing compared to the countryside portrayed as a type of paradise –like in *Vuelve Sebastiana* and *Ukamau*- it also shows there is a difference concerning identity in the two spaces. The first time Sixto appears on screen, he is playing soccer. Due to the nature of the game, Sixto violently

trips up a rival. This player, lying on the ground and deaf to the apologies of his accidental aggressor, yells and emphatic: "Fucking Indian!". At this moment, Sixto's consoling attitude turns 180 degrees and in an aggressive tone, he says: "Do you know me? Did you see me being born? I am not an Indian!". This sequence, with the signature teaching style of Sanjinés films, shows Sixto's situation. The character, in his attempt to adapt to the city, must deny his origins.

At the moment when Sixto meets with Ignacio and Benedicta, an initial journey begins towards consciousness. After having been an observer of the city that up until that moment he didn't know, unsupportive of another's pain, and of having recognized (once again using a teaching style) the town's oppressors and its footmen– the same ones that have hurt his brother and are supported by the white bourgeois of La Paz- decides to return to his town. The film shows Sixto's movements having a circular structure. The main character in the second story performs a double movement throughout the film. In the first place, there is roaming, erratic behavior and running in circles trying to find help. Secondly, there is the movement of going (which is not shown on screen) and the one of triumphant return, even revolutionary. Within these two movements, something has changed in Sixto. He has become conscious of the fact that he cannot continue denying his origins, that it is time to go back to his place and return to be owner of his actions. The Altiplano appears like the space that must be recognized as one's own, but after a spiritual and physical journey. It is here where the indigenous identity is developed and the destination of an ancestral culture.

In his masterpiece *La nación clandestina* (1989), Jorge Sanjinés delves into his first insights. The film features Bolivian cinema's most important character, Sebastián Mamani (Reynaldo Yujra). He is an indigenous man who immigrates to the city. Just like Sixto, the character does all he can to be accepted in his new surroundings, which implies denying his origins. But Sebastián does not have the same noble character as Sixto.

The protagonist of *La nación clandestina* does not hesitate to betray the people of his village upon changing his name, from the clearly indigenous Mamani to the satirical Maisman. For his actions, Sebastián is cast out of his village and forbidden to return. Nevertheless, the character becomes conscious of his actions and decides to return to carry out a forgotten ritual as a way to ask his village forgiveness: that of Jacha Tata Danzanti (dance to death). Laguna and Espinoza (2011) describe the film in the following way:

> *La nación clandestina* is a film about the constant journeys of Sebastián, about his journey to alienation, about his journey to denial of himself, about his journey to an animal state, about his journey to corruption, about his journey to regret, about his journey to redemption by way of the Jacha Tata Danzanti (Great Dancing Man). But above all, *La nación clandestina* is the return journey to one's origins, the return journey to who one really is (196).

It is not about a simple return to the village story, but rather a purification, a pilgrimage to return to one's self. The film's final sequence shows what it means to return. Meanwhile in the city, Sebastián is rather alone, making ends meet the best way he can, without thinking about the other. His death and redemption imply a return to the community. Here, recovering one's identity means returning to be one with one's community of origin. Sebastián is the prodigal son that returns and, after the necessary sacrifices, is accepted back into his family.

This theme of returning is not just a way to spark off a story, but rather expresses an authentic cinematographic concept. If it is possible to think of a classicism in Bolivian cinema, it would necessarily have to consider this going back movement, of the round trip away and towards one's origins. The obsession with circularity is a hallmark of the narrative structure of Bolivian films. According to Kenny (2009), *Vuelve Sebastiana* (1953), *El coraje del pueblo* (1971) and of course, *La nación clandestina* (1989), so as to give a few examples, have a circular structure because the characters embark on a journey of transformation that always has its point of return set in the origins of each one.

This circular journey is a constant in Bolivian cinema, even for filmmakers that apparently seek to oppose the themes of classic filmmakers like Sanjinés and Ruiz. The theme appears, for example, in *Rojo, Amarillo, Verde* (2009). The film is a type of manifest by three young filmmakers: Martin Boulocq, Rodrigo Bellot and Sergio Bastani. The film consists of three stories, directed by each one of the filmmakers mentioned and that correspond to the colors of the Bolivian flag. Without a doubt the project was an ambitious one that sought to create a new way of making movies in Bolivia, breaking away from the

Sanjinés's conception of filmmaking. The master of Bolivian cinema structures his films like great political metaphors about the country. In contrast, the program of the three B's (as they call themselves) appears completely different, given that it seeks to talk about Bolivia but not like a long story, but rather based on a characterization of the fatherland (or better said *motherland*) as an intimate sphere. Therefore, the three stories place emphasis on love of one's mother in terms of an authentic connection with the land.

Even when the plan was to make a breakthrough manifesto film, the full-length film segment that has most caught the eye of the critics is *Amarillo*, filmed by Bastani, which is a tribute to *Vuelve Sebastiana*. Bastani's camera follows a boy, in contrast to Sebastiana, who seems to come from a middle-class family. The story's protagonist begins to walk, distancing himself greatly from the family's home, until finally, he is lost. His mother calls him insistently but the boy seems not to want or be able to return. Thus, the walker comes to find another boy, an indigenous. After they meet, just like Sebastiana does upon her grandfather's insistence, the boy will return to his mother's side. It is true that the movie in general, and this part in particular, seems to distance itself from a traditional political vision on identity. Rather than this, a Bolivian cinema emerges that brings up intimacy. Nevertheless, the primordial gesture of Bolivian cinema has to do with this circular journey of setting out towards the unknown and returning to one's own land and to one's mother. Laguna and Espinoza (2011) in their critique of *Rojo, Amarillo, Verde* state:

> [t]hat movement, to journey outside, in order to return inside, to return to the mother's uterus, to return to one's self, is the same journey of Sebastián Mamani (Reynaldo Yujra) in *La nación clandestina* (1989) by Jorge Sanjinés. Amarillo makes a journey similar to that which two important characters of Bolivian cinema make, Sebastiana and Sebastián. It is part of a powerful tradition, a tradition that calls the Bolivian to return to the place where he or she belongs, to the *motherland* (196).

5. The cinematographic shape of the circle: the integral sequence shot

From the narrative point of view, the circle is clear in this round-trip journey that the characters embark upon through spaces that appear with contrary characteristics, always linked to a certain conception of identity. Up to now, the architectural spaces have been reviewed and the analysis has been essentially based on the story that the different films portray. But this conception of space is not merely narrative but rather has a correlation in terms of the form. This form translates into the use of what Sanjinés has named "the integral sequence shot" (ISS). Laguna and Espinoza define this technique used by Sanjinés in the following way:

> The moment in which this sequence shot becomes integral is when time ceases to pass linearly and the shot can include both the past and the present (...) Its uniqueness lies in the fact that is does not require cuts nor montage ellipsis, but rather a simple panning, travelling or other similar camera movement covers both the past and the present (Laguna and Espinoza, 2009:167).

The importance of *La nación clandestina* for Bolivian cinema has to do with the ISS. With this technique, Sanjinés attempts to approach a population not accustomed to western cinematographic codes. In other words, he aims to cinematographically capture a way of thinking that is particular to the Andean cosmovision:

> The appearance of Sebastián at the end has to do with a cyclical, circular conception of time that Aymara have. Their concept of time is different from that of the western world. For the western world the passing of time is linear. It starts with a genesis and moves towards infinity or until it reaches a final judgment. It is a conception in which what ends cannot return (...). On the contrary, the Aymara concept of time considers that the past and the future may be behind us and not ahead of us. This occurs with Sebastián when he is already in the future and he sees his own burial behind him" (Sanjinés, 1990:7)

The ISS is an Ariadne's thread that goes unraveling at the rate at which Sanjinés consolidates his way of thinking about cinema (and society). However, it should be no surprise that the use of ISS in the written sense, which is to say, a sequence shot that unites past and present with a camera movement,

appears on very few occasions in the Sanjinés's cinematography. This is because the technique cannot be used just any place or anytime. Firstly, in terms of it representing the Aymara way of seeing the world, it can only take place in its place of preference: the Altiplano. Only in the Altiplano can the indigenous be who he really is. This implies that only in this place can he express in all its magnitude his own cosmovision. For this reason: "its use is restricted to the Andean Altiplano scene and, in particular, to the protagonist's community and surroundings, and thus cannot take place in urban settings" (Espinoza and Laguna, 2009:169). Therefore, Sanjinés only uses this cinematographic technique three times in *La nación clandestina.*

The first time ISS is used in the film, it shows Sebastián raping who would be his future wife, Basilia (Delfina Mamani). After an initial struggle, there is a cut, in which you can see the characters from far away as simple silhouettes, although one can assume that Sebastián throws the woman to the ground. At that moment, the camera a circular pan, until stopping at Sebastián's face which is found on a lookout, as if he were observing the scene. In this sequence the past interconnects with the present thanks to a panning movement.

It must be recognized that from a sociological point of view, the scene is shocking. It is as if Sebastián, in an act diametrically opposite of that of love, "takes over" his wife, who in the rest of the film shows a disconcerting affection towards the main character. Something similar also occurs in *Ukamau.* In this film, the rape does not appear exactly how it happens, the humiliation of a human being, but rather as the taking of something that belonged to the Indian Andrés by the mestizo. It is as if for Sanjinés, the woman would simply have a utilitarian function in his films, a prized object to be taken over or taken from. For this reason it is difficult to see, as it seems the film wants the spectator to, that the sequence clearly shows the loving union between Sebastián and his wife, a moment that undoubtedly would forever affect the lives of both. Either way, the second feature that a scene must have in order to be able to use ISS is very clear: it can only be used when what is evoked from the past has an important emotional weight on the character.

The second time that Sanjinés uses this technique is when Sebastián escapes his village, chased by a furious mob of people. You can see the film's protagonist from afar running along the top of a mountain, a camera pan follows the character's movement. As the fugitive distances himself, the camera shows a close up of Sebastián's face. In the same image, Sebastián of the past and of the future, meet. The same formula from the previous sequence is repeated, in which he goes from a regular shot to a close up, from the past towards the present, using a circular or semi-circular camera movement.

The third and last time ISS is used in the film *La nación clandestina* is in the final sequence. A group of peasants walk as they carry the dead body of Sebastián. The camera moves in the opposite direction of the characters. The camera lens shows the face of the deceased and then the group of people quickly passes. Sebastián appears again, a little behind, which the camera films as a close up. This sequence has a more qualitative discourse importance than the other two described here. Not only does it clearly define a view of time thanks to a simple circular movement, it also makes is philosophical portrayal appear much deeper.

Sanjinés plays with a series of opposites. This travelling not only unites the past and the present, it also unites different levels of reality. It unites life with death, establishing both as complementary opposites, in absolute coherence with the Aymara way of thinking (Estermann, 2009:176). There is also another opposite in harmony, the individual and the group. Sebastián, who up to this moment had acted as an individual, becomes for the first time and authentically part of the collective. The camera movement conciliates the opposites, but also proposes certain equivalencies. The individual is a *non-being* while at the same time, as part of the collective, he is seen as a whole being. Returning to the village, to the group, means returning to see life, returning to fulfillment.

The ISS is supported by a double dimension of space. Firstly, a relationship is established between architectural space (the Altiplano) and the profound identity of indigenous characters (their subjectivity and their cosmovision). Secondly, as a camera movement, a dynamic link is established between the on screen and the off screen. In other words, a filmic space is built in the form of a circle. This shape in Bolivian cinema does not refer exclusively to the movement of characters, but to the authentic conception of space expressed by imminently cinematographic media.

Therefore, the integral sequence shot does not only seek to show a way of seeing time (in its circular form) but also becomes a discourse on space, always related to an statement about identity. As Kenny says (2009):

> Geographic borders are limits, a significant referential framework inside which culture develops. This presents us with a fundamental condition: in order for cultural permanence, there must be a physical space, whose characteristics undoubtedly will influence the culture. Therefore, the individual cannot be part of a culture if he is not in the territory or society (17)

In a cinema tied to the land, to one's origins, the journey means a movement towards that over there, towards the non-self, towards the denial of one's self. Although these two spaces are evidently contrary to one another, both are important for the classic narrative of Bolivian cinema. One's own space can only appear as the place of identity by way of a journey of alienation. Only via movement is it possible for the character to become conscious of the importance of his place of origin, which, at first, seems like a dull place, of which he denies himself for different reasons.

6. The City's Siren Songs

There's one doubt left: Why go on such a journey? What is there in that place foreign to one that calls his attention so and that necessarily obligates to go in the first place, before returning? It is evident that the journeys of the characters Ignacio and Sebastián to this city are very different in terms of motives to those of Sebastiana and Sixto. The first travel to the city out of obligation. Ignacio travels out of the urgent need to find a doctor who can heal him. Meanwhile, Sebastián does it as a young boy, when his father "gives" him to an affluent resident of the city. Perhaps for this reason, especially in the case of Ignacio, there is a demonic view of the city. When Benedicta arrives in La Paz in a truck, Sanjinés (following the dialectic montage learned from Russian cinema) merges the woman's face with images of large buildings, filmed from below looking up and in movement, simulating a subjectivity of the character. With a face that to say the least expresses uneasiness at this spectacle, plus dramatic music featuring violins, Sanjinés shows this space to be

dangerous and neither Benedicta nor Ignacio is in their place.

It is difficult to know the exact reason why Sixto moves to the city given that the film starts when he is already living there. But it is possible to speculate on some reasons, vaguely. You could propose the theory that Sixto seeks to climb the social ladder. In fact, it is also the reason why Sebastián seems to stay in the city in the first place. Likewise, Sebastiana, in the film by Ruiz, is obviously surprised by the opulence of the Aymara village, the ease at which you can find food and the feature comforts of the urban centers.

Chuquiago (1977) by Antonio Eguino offers a new motive for embarking on a journey to the city. The film is an x-ray of the inhabitants of La Paz, proposing a relationship between the dramatic landscape of the city and its social classes. The film contains four different stories from the city. As the stories connect, the camera moves towards toe south side of La Paz, where the city's most wealthy people live. For purposes of this article only the first story will be considered, that of Isico (Nestor Yujiri), a peasant boy who comes to live in what today is known as El Alto, on the border between the city and the Altiplano, at the highest point and to the north of La Paz. The parents of Isico take him to the city and, like Sebastián, hand him over to a woman for her to take care of him and so he can work. When Isico goes to get water from a well, he meets another boy, who invites him to see a fascinating sight: the city of La Paz from a lookout point. Isico, gazing over the city's landscape, immediately decides to escape from his caretaker and go down to the streets of La Paz. It is a difficult decision given that, as it is evident in the last minutes of this first part, life in the city is hard. Isico, almost at his own will, starts working as a bag carrier in the markets. In the film, there is no –in contrast to the films of Sanjinés or Ruiz– merely sociological motivation for embarking on the journey, but rather there is a fascination in Isico for the city. It is an imminently aesthetic gesture.

This gesture of fascination for the city of La Paz, is also present in contemporary cinema productions. In the short film *Max jutam* (2010) –translated into English, it would be *Max, Come*- Carlos Piñeiro revives the formal and narrative proposed by classic Bolivian cinema. The young Max (Luis Machaca) embarks on a journey to the city that, according to his initial plans, is only temporary. After a very ti-

ring trip, the character arrives as the outskirts of La Paz. Max is surprised by a poetic image: the tiny shops where several barbers work that are located at the top of a lookout point where you can see la *hoyada paceña* in all its glory. With a cut to black, Piñeiro makes an ellipsis to show the old Max (Luis Fuentes), in one of these tents, working as a barber. The protagonist ends up falling in love with the visual landscape that the city offers and decides to stay, not for the same reasons as Sebastián, but rather simply for a fascination, for that surreal, postcard-like image. From a different vision, Piñeiro revives the preferred themes of "classic" Bolivian cinema. This is so not because the *leitmotiv* of the film has to do with a journey from the city to the countryside, but because he also uses the circular shape as the main narrative technique. At the end of the film, as usual in this type of protagonist, Max decides to return to his village. The vision is desolate, time has taken its toll on his little house which appears abandoned. The character goes to the village cemetery, as if he were looking for some sign of his life before his trip to La Paz, apparently without finding any. Max returns, but only to realize that the passing of time and coming of death is unavoidable. When the return trip is done late, the theme of a possible redemption is not even discussed. Thus, the discourse on the weight of spaces like the Altiplano or the outskirts of the city are modified by an aesthetic vision of the city that causes a profound fascination.

It is no coincidence that this fascinated vision of the city repeats itself time and time again, shots in which the characters gaze at the city from one of the multiple lookout points of La Paz. Both Max and Isico each spend several seconds looking at the city, known as *la hoyada*, before making this decision to stay forever. This vision of La Paz is a siren's song, given that it implies at the same time, an enormous sacrifice on behalf of these characters. Despite a very difficult life awaiting Isico as a beggar, Max decides to leave his place of origin, from the warmth of his loving mother. For this reason, his return to the village can only show the vestiges of a life that is evidently different now.

In *Plato paceño* (2013), Piñeiro's third short film, this type of shot is repeated. This time, you see a character tying a knot in a tie, preparing himself for a funeral. In the background the city is alarmingly introduced. Here there is no gesture of characters like Isico and Max that observe La Paz in front of them. The character in *Plato paceño* seems more concerned with his knot. Here the spectacle is not for the characters, but rather for the spectators. The city is relevant for its plastic, photographic potential. The sociological perspective is replaced by one that prefers fascination.

Another example is *Enterprisse* (2010) by Kiro Russo. In this short film, the camera follows a porter walking through the alleys of the city with an interesting looking package: a figurine of Woody, the character of *Toy Story*. More than being interested in the movement of the character, this is an excuse to experiment cinematographically with the city. In this experiment, evidently there has to be a general shot of *la hoyada*, while the porter walks past a lookout point. In all the cases mentioned here, including that of Isico, this type of shot consists of two aspects, the human figure and the city. It is as if the characters were used as objects of scale to show the immensity of the city, of its hills and its strange composition. The city appears like an otherness that beckons the characters to enter, to become lost forever, at least until, a road of return opens, of consciousness of one's self and a return to one's origins.

7. Conclusions

The spaces and landscapes of Bolivian cinema are not neutral, but rather have a strong symbolic, political, and existential meaning. The Altiplano appears like a place of belonging while the city is a space of alienation. The relationship between both spaces is established by a journey of initial discovery, in which the characters, in general indigenous, deny their origins and their cultural diversity in search of recognition from others, in this case, the white people, the urbanite. Yet only in the return to one's own space is where a character can fully recognize himself. It is necessary to momentarily loose one's identity with the journey out in order to understand the importance and value of the space, the culture one belongs to, one's identity. It is a narrative that appears over and over again in Bolivian cinema. This narrative structure contains says something about the Bolivian identity.

Finally, we would like to highlight the narrative mechanisms that the different filmmakers propose to establish the dichotomic relationships between spaces, round-trip journeys and the search for the indigenous identity. It is worth noting, for example, the reiterative use of rape in terms of losing what belongs to one. Although it is clear that in Sanjinés cinema, a woman's body appears like a possession (especially in *La nación clandestina*), it can also appear like a conflictive relationship with the other, like in *Ukamau*. Without a doubt, it is a theme pending analysis, a formal analysis of the different meanings of sexual violence that exist in Bolivian cinema.

Furthermore, it is important to note the obsession Sanjinés has for circular camera movements and the poetic beauty that it reveals. Sanjinés films have always analyzed from a sociological and political perspective, but the aesthetic innovations of the filmmaker have been rather unexplored in their full poetic dimension. It is probable that the formal aspects of Sanjinés cinema have been well influenced by highly important films for Bolivia's seventh art, such as, for example Zona Sur (Juan Carlos Valdivia, 2009) and *El viejo calavera* (Kiro Russo, 2016). Either way, there are many aspects of Sanjinés cinema that need to be explored. Not only that, the formal analysis of Bolivian films proposes there is much work to be done in order to understand the true dimensions of a cinema that has generally been overlooked by Latin American cinema studies.

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Art in Advertising. Types of Visual Art Usage in Commercial Communication

El arte en la publicidad. Tipologías del uso del arte visual en la comunicación comercial

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Resumen

La saturación publicitaria en un mercado globalizado altamente competitivo, en el que las diferencias funcionales entre los productos apenas existen, obliga a las marcas a innovar en la búsqueda de nuevas estrategias comunicativas que generen valor y *engagement* con el consumidor. En este sentido, la inclusión de referencias al arte visual en la comunicación comercial se propone como un modelo válido, fundamentado empíricamente en el ″efecto de transfusión del arte″. El objetivo de este artículo es la clasificación de la diversidad de formas que puede adoptar esta estrategia, que en base al modelo de Hjemslev, aplicado al estudio del significante del lenguaje publicitario mediante la dicotomía expresión/contenido, define once tipologías distintas, de las que se incluyen varios ejemplos.

Abstract

Advertising saturation in a highly competitive globalized market, where functional differences among products barely exist, forces brands to innovate in the search of new communicative strategies that generate value and consumer engagement. In this respect, the inclusion of visual art references in commercial communications is proposed as a valid model, empirically founded in the phenomenon of "art infusion". The classification of the diversity of forms that this strategy can adopt is this article's objective, that based on Hjemslev's model applied to the study of the advertising language signifier through the expression/content dichotomy, defines eleven **different typologies, including several examples.**

Palabras clave

Publicidad, arte, clasificación, tipología, efecto de transfusión.

Key Words

Advertising, art, classification, typology, art infusion.

1. Introduction

In a communication scene in transformation, influenced by the impact of new technologies in society and where globalization brings as many challenges as it does opportunities, the importance of intangible assets has been growing at an alarming rate. Among them are the brand and its management, that today are considered fundamental values in the business world (Villafañe, 2001). However, until just a couple of decades ago, the leading business model was based exclusively on the laws of supply and demand and in the ability of the market to achieve a balance between them (Muñoz, 2008). This approach is reflected in the communication, dominated by strategies focused on influencing the public with a massive, one-way message, derived mainly from the mathematical theory of information by Shannon and Weaver[1].

This focus couldn't be more different from current reality, where there is a transformation taking place in the relationship between the company and its publics via innovative communication that allows for its differentiation (Costa, 2012). The main reason lies in that consumers today consider the quality and function of products as understood, to the extent that they expect more, "an added value for which the consumer is willing to pay" (Bocigas, 2011: 53). It is redefined as a consumer market with a new protagonist, *the prosumer*[2], a more demanding individual, more informed and more active, that demands excellence –not just quality–, personalized treatment, variety, accessibility and immediacy at a reasonable price. This new consumer is also co-creator of the products in the sense that these are designed based on his needs and desires, and show himself to be more skeptical towards the conventional advertising discourse (Ritzer and Jurgenson, 2010). A multi-screen and multi-channel consumer that requires a communication that is relevant, useful, that entertains, excites and that promotes engagement.

All this obligates brands to seek and identify opportunities of perceived value creation, which requires them to constantly acquire new knowledge and abilities to differentiate themselves from competitors, transforming them into what is known as the "brand experience", defined by Alloza (2002) as "the sum of positive experiences that the public has related to an organization".

As a result, in this highly competitive advertising context, characterized by the overexposure of the public to advertising in which the inclusion of references to art in brand communication becomes a valid formula to add value to the functional characteristics of products (Cavalli, 2007). A strategy that falls within the growing trend that promotes for advertising that is unleashed from the need to highlight the product's features, omitting the argumentative and the rational, in order to adopt much freer ways and, to a certain degree, closer to art than the old way of advertising (López, 2007).

2. Theoretical Discussion

2.1. The Relationship Between Art and Advertising

The fusion between art and advertising, which for some seems quite innovative, is, in reality, not so. Both disciplines began their relationship around 1900, when vanguard artists saw in advertising, in the form of a poster, a chance to participate in the creation of a new urban space, one in which products were exhibited, even invading the domestic space (González, 1997). This is the point when art becomes involved in the creation of the brand image of the incipient consumer society. Although several decades would have to pass in order for the inverse phenomenon to occur, when advertising is introduced into art as an essential part of postmodern culture. It would not be until the birth of Pop Art that images of products and logotypes became a reoccurring source of themes for art (Díaz, 2010). Although, "depending on the nature of the work, the iconographic content has oscillated between cultural critique, irony and paying tribute" (Reguera, 2014). Either way, where there is no doubt is that the limit between art and advertising has gone diminishing itself throughout the 20th century. So much that today both participate in the co-creation of the iconographic universe of today's consumer, one that merges what formerly constituted high culture and pop culture (Brea, 2009). A phenomenon that reveals the dissolution of the artistic in the society of information in order to give way to the "visual culture" (Almela, 2004: 1), in which the *iconosphere*[3], understood as the sum of the images disseminated by the visual culture of the masses, "Not only is it made up of the physical objects carrying an iconic configuration, but also the images

that are reproduced and disseminated by mass media" (Brihuega, 2006: 399).

Furthermore, it can be said that today advertisers look to the art world as a constant reference just like they did in the past, when it was a common practice in the advertising industry to commission recognized artists for the creation of pieces (Walzer, 2010). Along the same lines, one must note the existence of "a tendency in some artistic movements to use resources coming from the advertising world" (Pérez, 1998: 184), thus showing that the influences between art and advertising have gone in both directions[4].

Image 2. *Menina Black&White Scotch Whisky* (Antonio de Felipe, 1988-1991). This is a free reinterpretation of the figure of Princess Margaret who appears in the middle of *Las Meninas* by Velázquez (1656) using the visual identity and iconography belonging to a brand of Scotch whisky, *Black & White*. The artist portrays the princess in black and white. She is accompanied by two dogs, one black and the other white, emblems of the brand, thus sourcing the influence of advertising language in the creation of a piece of art. Source: https://es.pinterest.com/pin/555490935263195596/?from_navigate=true

Image 1. Free reinterpretation of Las Meninas or The Family of Phillip IV (Velázquez, 1656) in an advertising campaign by El Corte Inglés in 2011 directed at the international tourist. In this case, cultural symbolic universe of the Prado Museum was the insight to attract quality shopping tourism to the capital of Madrid. Source: http://24. media.tumblr.com/tumblr_lb0m5nadrv1qduv-m4o1_500.jpg

In regards to this, the majority of authors promote an integrative vision in terms of the merging of art and advertising (González, 1997: 81; Alberdi, 2002: 90; Hetsroni and Tukachinsky, 2005: 94). They defend the democratization of culture, understood as placing cultural assets at the disposition of all individuals, making possible a mutual communication between art and popular culture (Eco, 2009: 27-28). In this way they justify the confluence of "great art" and "popular culture" as a result of the widening of the art object field (Cruz, 2001: 167). This phenomenon proposes to be the origin of a renewal of everyday visual language that, of course, appears in advertising (Gúzner and Fernández, 1991: 62).

On the contrary, there are authors that have a critical view, calling it a sacrilege to have an artistic dimension in advertising. Defenders of this point of view define advertising as an integrated part of popular culture (González, 1997: 81) that in modern times alludes to entertainment, recreation and pleasures that can be bought as part of consumer

society (Spielvogel, 2010: 968), in such a way that advertising could not be culture, but rather an anti-culture. One stance that authors like Asenjo share (1999) is that, although they accept the contribution advertising makes to spreading knowledge about and recognition of art, they warn of the deceiving effect of "aestheticizing the world" that it produces, given that the works of art used in advertising lose their initial symbolic value and are converted into mere subjects of mass consumption trends.

Between these two points of view are the authors that argue that it is not about considering advertising as art, but rather accepting that, although art is not advertising, given that its function is aesthetic and, advertising is not art, given that its function is commercial, but what is true is that both languages feed off each other (Díaz, 2010: 85). Given the mutual influences, it should be no surprise that the existence of viewpoints even more audacious that propose that the transformation of a product into a brand, gives it an intangible quality that, to a certain degree, converts it into an artistic icon (Caro, 2012: 148). At the same time, the work of art becomes an object of consumption in the art market. Thus, advertising loses any negative connotation derived from its commercial orientation (González, 2007). It is so much so, that authors like González-Solas (1999) sustain that art and advertising could not be compared, but can be substitutable, given that the best thing would be for advertisers to commission art instead of advertising.

Along the same lines, a step further in the perceived value creation via references to art in brand communication comes in the form of what is called branding art, a specialized genre within a company's strategic marketing, that promotes the artistic focus of brand management understood as "the way in which brands use aspects belonging to the art system" (Reguera, 2012). A point of view in which Ind and Saracco (2009) coincide is that upon proposing that the expression of the brand should be permeable to new proposals in order to be able to adapt to new scenarios. In this sense, the concept of branding art would designate associations with determined works/artists that generate a direct transfer of their aesthetics and personal universes on culture, image and strategic vision of the brand (Reguera, 2014).

However it may be, interest for the analysis of the relationship between art and advertising is solidly proven by the multitude of initiatives that exist with said theme, from the creation of physical or virtual museums, like Paris's Musée de la Publicité or the Museo Virtual de Arte Publicitario sponsored by the Cervantes Institute, to even the initiatives of the advertising sector to promote recognition of artistic values in advertising, like the *Certamen Artístico de Creatividad Publicidad: La publicidad en el Museo, created in 2006 by the International Advertising Association* (IAA) in collaboration with the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte de Reina Sofía and the Asociación de Productoras Publicitarias Españolas (APPE) and which originated from a similar proposal in the MOMA in New York in 1995 (Hermoso, 2007: 6).

Not to mention, of course, the great number of expositions that focused on the evolution of the link between art and advertising, including: Art et Pub dans le monde (Museo de Artes Decorativas, Paris, 1955), *El arte del viaje* (Madrid, 1991), *Art & Pub* (Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 1991), *High & Low: Modern Art and Popular Culture* (MOMA, New York, 1990-1991), *Signos del siglo. 100 años de diseño gráfico en España* (Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid, 2000), *Maestros del Arte en el Cartel* (Museo Valenciano de Ilustración y de Modernidad, Valencia, 2005), *Arte y Publicidad. El cartel publicitario*: 1890-1960 (Casa Revilla, Valladolid, 2010), *1900. El origen del arte publicitario* (Sede Fundación Bancaja, Valencia, 2012) o Graffiti Pop (Casa de Vacas, Madrid, 2015).

In the world of publications, whether they are of informative or scientific nature, there are also an abundant number of works dedicated to said subject that come in the form of articles, books, book chapters and doctoral theses. One must certainly note the interest of the Spanish academic community in investigating the influences between art and advertising, which translates into a constantly growing production of doctoral theses, since 1998, in the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Pérez Gaulí defended his research on the representation of the human figure in art and advertising. Although "this type of scientific production has focused more on analyzing the transfer of art to the advertising field, than advertising to that of art" (De Vicente, 2011: 218).

2.2. The Use of Visual Art in Commercial Communication

Any proposal that reflects on the use of art as an advertising resource should start by defining each term. To this end, from here on a perspective focused on the consumer will be adopted, understanding art to be that which spectators categorize as such, given that previous studies have suggested that consumers have a general preconception of art (Joy and Sherry, 2003). In relation to the concept of advertising, a definition will be used from the marketing perspective, which considers it to be:

> A transmission of information, impersonal and paid for, carried out via a medium of communication, directed at a target audience, in which the transmitter[6] is identified and it has a specific objective: whether immediate or not, attempts to stimulate product demand or change the opinion or behavior of the consumer" (Santesmanes, Merino, Sánchez and Pintado, 2009: 238).

There is a need to go into detail on the knowledge of the relationship between art and advertising, in this case, from the point of view of brand management. In this sense, you can summarize that there are three fundamental causes for which advertising uses art: for inspiration, to simplify the understanding of the message and/or to differentiate itself giving added value to the product (Cavalli, 2007). There is no doubt that advertisers need to find images in order to be inspired to create their adverts and, and therefore, transfers of art into daily life via advertising are constant (Asenjo, 1998: 53). On the other hand, upon being inspired by the schemes of perception, themes and universally recognized symbolism, advertising becomes more easily interpreted by the public. As a result, the effectiveness of its messages is reinforced (Sarmiento, 2011: 138).

A different focus is proposed by the sociology of art that sees the work of art like a transmitter of social values, in such a way that art is useful to advertising because it denotes richness and spirituality, and implies that the proposed purchase is a luxury and has cultural value[7]. It's about incorporating an added value to the product, making it seem next to something that already has an established value, in this case the art, given that the proximity is perceived as similarity (Alberdi, 2002: 90). For this reason, advertising draws upon art in order for it

to transmit its dignity to the product (Fernández, 1991: 201).

In fact, various studies in the field of social psychology have revealed that visual art positively influences perception and evaluation of products or brands that use it in their communication. It has to do with a contagious effect understood as a mechanism according to which, direct or indirect contact between two objects can produce a permanent transfer of the properties of one object (art) to another (the product advertised), and that Hagtvedt and Patrick (2008) have named the art spillover effect. Their research proves that art connotes excellence, luxury and refinement and, that these connotations are transmitted to the products that use art in their advertising, regardless of the content of the artwork and the product. Thus it refers to a generalizing effect that is always linked to a favorable perception, upon associating art with high culture, prestige and elitism (Hoffman, 2002: 6).

This is precisely what distinguishes visual art from other sensorial phenomena, like smell (Spangenberg, Crowley and Henderson, 1996), music (Alpert and Alpert, 1990) or including other visual stimuli like non-art images. Several studies have been recently expanded thanks to research done on the influence of discrete emotions on consumer behavior, including the emotion of disgust (Nowlis, Mandel and McCabe, 2004), which has shown to be involved in a spillover effect similar to that of art, yet with negative connotations.

Finally, it is necessary to at least mention other possible reasons for the inclusion of art in commercial communication cited in specialized literature. It refers to its use to justify the overpricing of certain products (Eguizábal, 1999: 33-34), to increase the notoriety of the product or the brand (Almela, 2004) or to transfer the sense of the artistic piece to the activity of the product advertised (Jiménez, 2008: 160). It is worth mentioning that, on occasions, art is the one that draws upon advertising, whether as a method of cultural critique or as an approximation guide to contemporary society (Reguera, 2014), without denying its use as a means of dissemination of artistic styles, putting the talent of recognized artists to work for advertisers.

3. Methodology

This article presents a categorization proposal of commercial strategies supported by visual art currently used in commercial communication that is divided into eleven types. After a first phase of exploration that performs a bibliographic review of the most current academic references on the relationship between art and advertising, a collection of advertising pieces was gathered that have allusions to visual art for their later classification. The collection was gathered July 1- 27, 2016 using *Coloribus*[8], an online repository with more than two million adverts from around the world.

In order to compile a sample as large and representative as possible, generic searches were done, disregarding any restriction in terms of the pieces' country of origin or date of creation/publication. After entering the descriptive words "art", "visual art", "painting" and "museum", in the *Coloribus* search engine, the name was searched of each one of the 142 painters that comprised the list of artists suggested by the virtual art gallery *Ciudad de la Pintura*[9]. Given that visual culture is temporary in nature and adapts to each era, the selection of artists of this digital archive has been one of the most used in the Spanish academic field as criteria chosen to detect the advertising pieces with references to the most recognized works throughout the history of paintings present in the collective imagination.

Of the total results obtained, only the pieces belonging to the categories of TV advertising, print advertising, outdoor advertising, and product design and logotypes[10] were considered as part of the sample under analysis. Despite the influence of art in advertising not being limited to just graphic or audiovisual pieces, because it is also found in non-conventional advertising techniques[11], whether it be in street marketing (Llorente and García, 2016), ambient marketing (Torreblanca and Lorente, 2012: 6) or "performance", flash mob-type advertising (Rodríguez-Pina, 2016), among other possibilities, the analysis has been intentionally focused only on visual art. The motive for such lies in that the presence of non-visual art as an advertising resource, without music, is very rare and, in this case, is used contingent upon the image (Vilasuso, 2013).

In order to define the classification criteria of advertising pieces we have resorted to transposition from the field of linguistics from the proposal by Hjemslev[12] for the study of the signifier based on the expression/content dichotomy (Cifuentes, 2006: 6), that corresponds to the signifier/signified binominal of the Saussure School (Romero, 2014). According to Hjelmslev, language and, by analogy, advertising language, is a network of semiotic functions in each one of which there are two related arguments –the form of expression and the form of content -, which when applied to the object of analysis allows one to define the primary classification criteria. Resulting from its application are two primary categories:

a) according to the form of expression of the insertion of art in advertising, that will be applied to the two characteristic aspects of the convention advertising pieces –the text and the image- and,

b) based on the form of the content, that is circumscribed to the type of relationship, from the brand management point of view, that is established between the reference to art and the product/brand that uses it in its communication.

The following are the variations of the classification system accompanied by some advertising pieces as examples that have been selected for truly representing the defining characteristics of each subcategory, regardless of the date or country of origin. It must be noted, nevertheless, that the casuistry is so abundant and diverse, that it is impossible to address it in its entirety, and that this is only an initial typological proposal serving as a guide. In the future, it should be expanded. Furthermore, it must be considered that the categories are not exclusive. In fact, they are often complementary. Thus, the classification criteria will adjust to the type of advertising use of the art that dominates among all those present in each case.
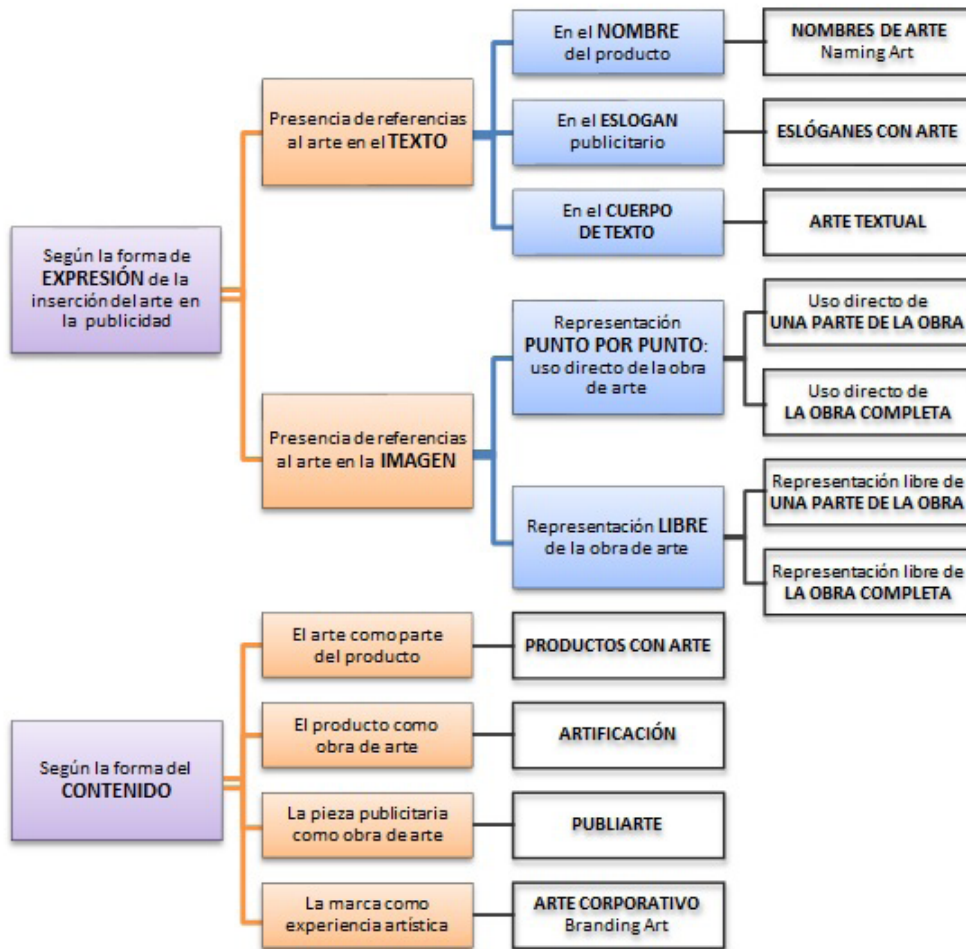
Image 3. Classification proposal of visual art usage in commercial communication. Source: prepared by the author.

4. Types of Visual Art Usage in Commercial Communication

4.1. Types of Advertising with Art According to Form of Expression

Since the first analyses of advertising messages, there have been doubts as to whether the text is subordinate to the image or vice versa (Hernando, 1994). What is certain is that the advertising pieces in which the presence of the linguistic code is scarce are exceptional and, on most occasions, are reserved for luxury products, in an attempt to emphasize its exclusivity (Díaz-Soloaga, 2007), making the majority one in which both codes coexist (Boscán and Mendoza, 2004). Nevertheless, Roland Barthes (1977) proposed almost a half century ago whether the text of the advertising pieces could be eliminated as superfluous, given that, en his opinion, it is the image that performs the persuasive function.

4.1.1. Presence of References to Art in Advertising Text

Strategies that include references to art serve as an example of the ability of advertising text to create differential communication, whether by way of a naming technique -incorporating the name of an artist in the product in order to link his prestige and iconographic universe to the brand-, or by inserting the term "art" in the slogan to increase the perceived value. Then of course there are the references to art in advertising text that mostly come in the form of famous phrases by recognized artists.

Among the cases of naming with references to art is *Renault Clio Graffiti*, on the market from 1991 to 1998, and the *Citroën Xsara Picasso*, launched in 1999. However, using the name Picasso did not prevent the competition from using the same artist to implement a cultural sponsorship strategy communicated via another campaign with references to art. This is what Mazda did in 2006 as part of sponsorship of the Picasso exposition at the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne.
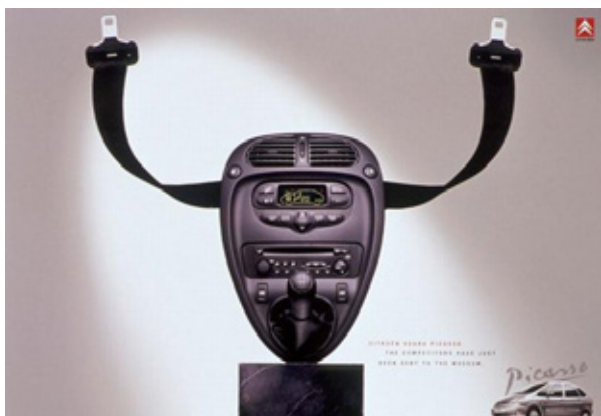
Image 4. Citroën Xsara Picasso campaign created by DPZ Sao Paulo in 2002 with the image of a Spanish bull built using parts of the car situated on a base as if it were a sculpture. Source: https://www.coloribus.com/adsarchive/prints/citroen-xsara-picasso-bull-4457005/

Image 5. Campaign by the agency CHE for Mazda, as part of the sponsorship of the Picasso exposition at the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne in 2006. Source: http://bunkerpop.mx/wp-content/uplo ads/2014/04/10_0 80414_1396971570_95.jpg

Image 6. Text of urban artist Muelle use as advertising resource. Source: https://artedemadrid.files. wordpress. com/2009/02/muelle-anuncio.jpg

The same has happened to brands that have opted for slogans with art, using the term art in them, including: Air France that advertised themselves as "The Art of Flying", Mont Blanc as "The Art of Writing", Nokia as "The Art of Communicating", Tiffany's as "The Art of Buying", Louis Vuitton as "The Art of Travelling" and, more recently, "The Art of Gifting" of Ferrero Golden Gallery[13]. It is a message that is so widely repeated that it loses its differentiating quality.

On the other hand, you often see in the text of advertising pieces the inclusion of references to art (textual art). In the majority of cases they are phrases of famous artists, like in the campaign of de Whisky DYC in 1993, "For uncomplicated people", in which Muelle[14], top exponent of Spanish urban art of that time, signed the text.

4.1.2. Presence of References to Art in the Advert Image

This is undoubtedly the most numerous category between the types art use in advertising. Whether it is direct use of the artwork or a reinterpretation like a free representation of the same, with more or less likeness, examples of these are abundant. These examples include both those referring to the use of a part of the work, and the complete work itself.

It is probably because it is the most effective way of generating the effect of art transfusion, given that the more mayor explicit its presence is, and the more likeness it has to the original work, the higher the probability is that the positive connotations associated to the art will transfer to the product. For this reason, the best possible situation comes from the direct use of the complete work of art. One paradigmatic example is the inclusion Vermeer's 1658 painting titled La Lechera in the advertising communication of the company with the same name.

Image 7. La Lechera graphic campaign based on the Vermeer work of the same name. Source: http://www.vamosapublicidad. com/wp-content/uploads/2010/02/cartel-la-lechera-pq.jpg

On other occasions, the point-by-point representation is limited to a part of the work, like in the case of the La Caixa logotype, today Caixabank, created in 1980 by Joan Miró by commission from the banking entity via the prestigious American consulting firm Landor. The artists was given as inspiration an asterisk with two point so he could reinterpret it and include it as an extra element in the creation of a design together with artist Josep Royo. But both transformed into the 5-point star that today represents the bank's innovative, Mediterranean

Image 8. Design by Joan Miró and Josep Royo whose star detail used as the La Caixa logotype, today Caixabank, created a trend in the 80's when numerous logotypes with the same "Miroian"-style emerged. Source: http://www.onaccent.com/wp-content/ uploads/2014/04/miro-la-caixa.jpg

character. At one point, the new logotype caused a break from the image that until then banking entities used, giving it an emotional content.

As the direct use of the artwork is substituted by a free representation of it, whether it is a part of the work or the entire work, the harder it is for the public to identify it and, as a result, perceive the value added to the product or with the inclusion of the artistic reference.
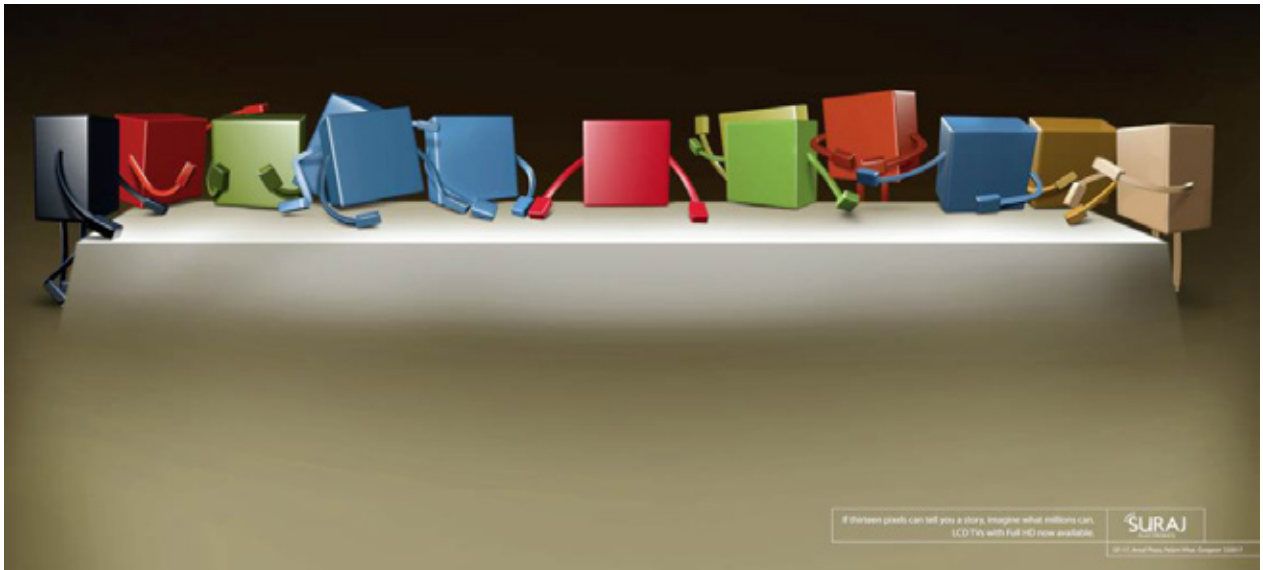
Image 9. The more or less free representation of the Self-portrait (1889) of Van Gogh has been one of the most used by brands. From left to right and top to bottom: Lego graphic campaign proposals (M. Sodano, Milán, 2012), Skenpoint graphic campaign (Newmoment, Macedonia, 2009), Nescafé graphic campaign (Prodigius, Noruega, 2014), Alliance Française campaign (Garwich BBDO, Quito, 2007) and KelOptic campaign (Y&R, París, 2012). Source: http:// www.coloribus.com/

Image 10. Using the slogan "If 14 pixels can tell you a story, imagine what millions can" the company Suraj Electronics commissioned in 2009 the agency JWT (New Delhi, India) this advertising campaign as a free reinterpretation of the painting "The Last Supper" (Leonardo da Vinci, 1495-1497). Source: http://catalogo.artium.org/ sites/default/files/imagenesbody/10/2014/x_pixel.jpg

In the visual culture of the masses of current society, in which the artistic and advertising languages mix, putting artists and advertisers in common territory, the references to emblematic artworks

4.2. Types of Advertising with Art According to the Form of the Content

In the proposed classification system, uses of art as commercial communication resources appear organized according to four types based on the relationship established between the art and the product/ brand that uses it in its communication, carrying out the analysis from the brand management point of view.

4.2.1. Products with Art

In numerous cases, you can see that the art becomes part of the product –they are products with art-, but without going beyond. It is a mere process of addition, one which seeks to bring about a transfusion effect, almost always via the inclusion of artwork in product packaging, but without making reference to the artistic consideration of a product. There is a difference between the first step, which is the stamping of a recognized work on the product packaging and, the taking of the next step in advertising use of the artistic value, commissioning an artist a new artwork for the product. Being orthodox, in most of these cases it is not advertising in its strictest sense, but rather commercial communication, given that currently packaging is con-

sidered a form a silent advertising "whose primary objective is to attract the attention of customers and be the main window of communication towards the consumer" (Rodríguez, 2014). From the standpoint of brand management, it could be limited to a brand creation strategy prior to the marketing communication itself.

One example of this can be found in the project EnsaimadArt that seeks to give traditional packaging of pastries known as ensaimadas mallorquinas a new visual content. The idea is the reformulate the image of the product in order to give it a more contemporary look via the inclusion of pieces from contemporary artists and designers in the packaging. Nevertheless, the characteristic octagonal package will remain in order to create a new association with the traditional image that the consumer has of the product.

It is the same strategy that Mouton Rothschild has been using since 1945, when it began to commission famous artists for the label design of each harvest. Jean Cocteau (1947), George Braque (1955), Salvador Dalí (1958), Joan Miró (1969), Marc Chagall (1970), Kandinsky (1971), Pablo Picasso (1973), Andy Warhol (1975), Francis Bacon (1990), Antoni Tàpies (1995) and Miquel Barceló (2012) are just a few of the artists that have contributed to creating an authentic museum on wine bottles[15].

Image 12. Mouton Rothschild label designed by Miquel Barceló for the 2012 harvest. Source: http:// www.theartistlabels.com/mouton/labels/2012.jpg

Image 11. Traditional packaging of ensaimada mallorquina (left) next to a EnsaimadArt packaging with a design by Javier Mariscal, internationally known for being the designer of Cobi, the mascot of the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona. Source: http://www.alacartaparados.es/wp-content/ uploads/2012/10/javier_mariscal.jpg

4.2.2. Artification

The next step in the integration of art with the product/brand, that uses it like an advertising resource, consists of artification strategies that present the product likening it with being an artwork in itself. The idea is to give it an artistic identity. At this point, you can consider the existence of a management strategy of the brand image via advertising communication. For example, the company De Beers, has used art in the promotion of its image, transmitting the idea that diamonds, like paintings, are unique pieces of art. Along the same lines, the campaign of Nescafé Dolce Gusto "the modern art of coffee" –another slogan with the word "art"-, emphasizes the innovative design of the coffee maker, showing the TV commercial several classic artworks conversing among themselves, qualifying the coffee maker as a work of modern art and confusing it with the new star piece of the collection16. Furthermore, the brand has launched various limited editions on the market with coffee maker designs inspired in the work of contemporary artists like Roy Lichtenstein and Frida Kahlo, positioning it for the consumer as an accessible way to bring "modern art" into their homes.

4.2.3. Publiart

The third category among the types based on the form of advertising content correspond to publiart, understood as a "new advertising genre because no other better expression could be found to give these new adverts that seem less and less like commercial messages and more like artwork" (Gurrea, 1998: 169).

This is art created exclusively for promoting a product so that the product stops being treated like a work of art itself and starts being proposed as an object of artistic treatment. In this case, brand management broadens and goes beyond advertising communication itself. A paradigmatic example is the strategy used by the brand Absolut when it commissioned Andy Warhol, as first of a series of recognized artists in the interpretation in the form of illustration of its popular bottle. In 1986, the artist participated in the creation of different graphic pieces for the brand, initiating the movement named Absolut Art. As a consequence, it is the advertising piece that is elevated to the category of artwork[17] and not the product, which differentiates this type of artification.
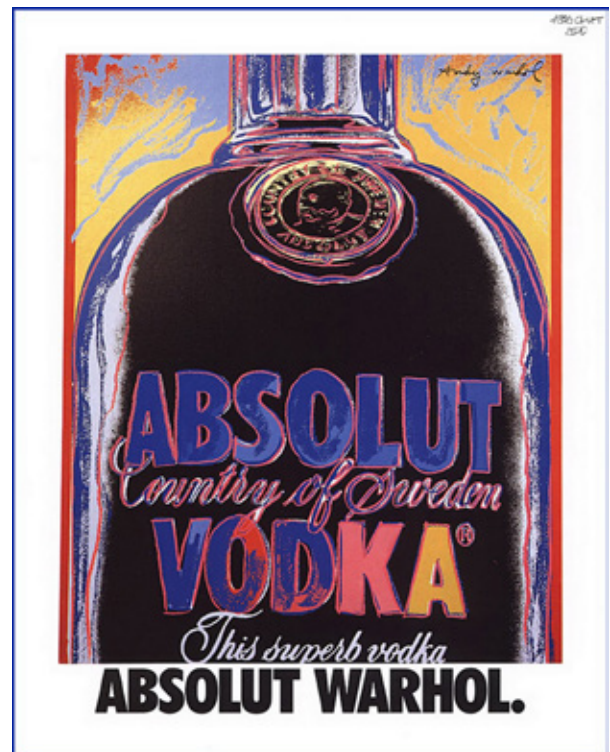

Image 13. Frida Piccolo Model by Nescafé Dolce Gusto inspired in the artwork of Frida Kahlo. Source :http:// mamaejecutiva.net/www/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/319.jpg

Image 14. Illustration by Andy Warhol for Absolut Vodka (1986). Source: http://spritmuseum.se/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/absolut-warhol-wb.gif

To this same category belong fashion films, short movies or digital videos by recognized directors that feature famous models and actors/actresses that name brands in fashion began to use as viral marketing strategy with the intention of generating content for the brand (Ramos-Serrano and Pineda, 2009) and to which more and more brands from other sectors are using, like the cosmetics and car industries (Del Pino and Castelló, 2015). Their artistic quality makes them deserving of consideration as publiart.

4.2.4. Branding Art

The last step is the implementation of an artistic focus of brand management via corporate art, branding art. Once such example is the proposal MTNG Experience of the shoe brand Mustang that has transformed its headquarters in Elche (Alicante), fusing the workspace with an art gallery -Mustang Art Gallery (MAG)- destined to the promotion and dissemination of contemporary art. Along the same lines, the sanitation brand Roca has created five brand experience spaces -Roca Barcelona Gallery, Roca Madrid Gallery, Roca Lisbon Gallery, Roca Shanghai Gallery and Roca London Gallery- in which brand products are exhibited like pieces of art. The brand aims to provide the public with a visual and interactive experience so that via vanguard exposition facilities they can put on display all those elements related to the bath world. It is an innovative concept in which the same space is a showroom that that serves as store window for all of the brand's most emblematic products, while at the same time holding social, cultural, and exhibition activities related to company values, like energy efficiency, saving, sustainability, design and innovation. The result is that art is implemented in the brand's strategic management, substituting what in traditional management is no more than the launching of a point of sale, with the creation of a site of social and cultural gathering for visitors whose activity focused on the promotion of art and culture reverts into the generation of brand value.

Image 15. Inside the vanguard Roca London Gallery where brand name products share exposition space with pieces of art. Source: http://fancycribs. com/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Roca-London-Gallery-by-Zaha-Hadid-Architects-9.jpg

5. Conclusions

The highly competitive current market together with a new type of consumer who is more demanding, more informed, more active, multi-screen and more and more skeptical of the discourse of conventional advertising to which he is overexposed, require brands to look for differentiation via innovative management strategies that increase value perceived by the consumer, given the uniformity in the physical and functional features of products. In this context, it is necessary to have a relevant communication that is useful and emotional, with which the consumer can become involved. Thus, the inclusion of references to art in the commercial brand communication is proposed as a valid way of creating a link with the consumer. The relationship between art and advertising has lasted throughout the years and grows closer and closer, so that compared to the critical vision of those who deny an artistic dimension of advertising, there are more and more defenders of an integrative vision that supports the confluence of art and advertising in a shared space in which both feed off each other.

Shown empirically the influence of visual art in the favorable perception and evaluation of consumer products whose advertising includes it (art transfusion effect), more and more brands turn to this strategy. The different formulas used in the implementation of visual art as an advertising resource can be classified in eleven different types based on the form of expression of the art in the text and image, as well as the form of content it has, understood as the type of relationship, from the brand management point of view, established between the reference to art and the product/ brand that uses it in its communication.

The abundant casuistry that exists, as well as the constant renovation of advertising strategies propose challenges in terms of the taxonomy of the use of art in commercial communication, that make this a classification of elemental classification, yet valid, because it opens new channels of research for future development.

Notes

1. The model proposed by Shannon and Weaver (1948) attempts to determine the cheapest, fastest and surest way to codify a message, without the present of any noise to complicate its transmission.

2. The term was coined by sociologist Alvin Toffler in 1980 in his book The Third Wave to define the consumer of the future, a person in which the roles of producer and consumer of information converge.

3. Term coined by theorist Gilbert Cohen-Seat to call a phenomenon that defines, in essence, as urban and contemporary, despite the term mass culture to which it is linked enjoys the privilege of imprecision, of not defining what is "mass" or what is "culture" (Eco, 2009: 27-28). Nevertheless, what we find in this collection of images is the structure of "cultural existence" that fit into three levels —High-Cult, Mild-Cult and Low-Cult for authors like McDonald, Greenberg and Bell—, that coexist with other intermediate strata and between those in which the contamination is mutual (Brihuega, 2006: 402). "An interstice of a space that has grown in the gaps, in the "in between" of disciplines and practices" (Brea, 2009: 22).

4. The most iconic example in Spanish advertising history is that of the Anís del Mono label. In 1897, Vicente Bosch organizes the first poster contest for the brand of anise, in which some of the best painters of the time participated. Ramón Casas won with his poster Mona y mono. An incursion of art in advertising that would end up doing the opposite, when Diego Rivera included the bottle of anise in Naturaleza muerta con balalaika (1913). A year later, Juan Gris used the Anís del Mono label as the main theme of his work, La botella de anís (1914), just as Pablo Picasso did in Botella de Anís del Mono, vaso de anís y naipe (1915).

5. What is emphasized is western culture's very trite distinction between the untouchable areas of "art" culture and the despicable areas of "advertising". A proposal in according to which art is part of high culture, an already outdated concept, that references the artistic and literary world of the educated, governing, and wealthy classes (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995; Vilasuso, 2013).

6. "Advertising can simulate what is art, but it can never hide the fact that it is advertising, given that it belongs to a genre, the self-affirmation is consubstantial to it. Not manifesting itself as such is characteristic of propaganda, not of advertising" (Eguizábal, 1999: 32).

7. Since Republican Rome art has been given an accessory function, that of satisfying a need of social recognition of certain social classes, especially that of the free (Gómez-Vila, 1996: 421).

8. Considered the largest advertising archive worldwide, it is constantly being updated, adding new registers to its list daily.

9. With more than 120,000 pictorial works from throughout history classified by museum, author, style and them. Its website is one of the noted didactic tools on painting in Spain. The complete list of artists suggested can be seen at http://pintura.aut.org/

10. Coloribus (http://es.coloribus.com/) classifies adverts included in its archives in the following advertising categories: TV, print, outdoor, ambient, online, viral, direct marketing, promotion, design and logotypes, radio.

11. The new formulas of what is called non-conventional advertising or below the line advertising can be found at Sánchez, J. and Pintado, T. (2010). Nuevas tendencias de la comunicación, Madrid: Editorial Esic.

12. If Saussure is the father of modern linguistics, then its theoretical-formal maturity is due to Louis Hjelmslev, who in Prolegomena to a Theory of Language (1943) proposes a theory that resulted in the development of a new, more general linguistics with a more epistemological focus.

13. On October 8, 2014, a new assortment of Ferrero specialties was presented at the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza de Madrid, Ferrero Golden Gallery. For Philippe Steyaert, Ferrero's Spanish Director, "Ferrero Golden Gallery unites exclusive recipes inspired in the world of art that bring together innovation, design and elegance".

14. Juan Carlos Argüello, known as Muelle, was the first Spanish graffiti artist. Creator of a signature style called "estilo flechero", he began to paint in 1981 and influenced an entire generation of pioneer Spanish graffiti artists (Reyes, 2012: 62).

15. The complete collection of Mouton Rothschild labels is made up of a total of 67 labels. Whether or not due to the value contributed by the art in the form of labels that accompany the product, Chateau Mouton-Rothschild 1945 is one of the world's most expensive wine bottles. Its price is listed around 23,000 dollars each.

16. The campaign was launched in 2013 and can be seen at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dlat-HdFpXE

17. From 1986 to 2004, Absolut Vodka has developed a collaboration with artists around the world for the creation of various graphic campaigns for the brand accumulating a total of 850 commissioned works of art considered part of Swedish cultural heritage and that are exhibited at the Spritmuseum in Stockholm.

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New Ecology of Media and Community Developmen

The book *New Ecology of Media and Community Development* is organized by noted researchers in this field of study. Denis Renó is a journalist, with a doctorate in Communication and a post-doctorate from the Universidad Complutense de Madrid (Spain) and the Universidad de Aveiro (Portugal). He is professor of the journalism course and of the postgraduate program in Media and Technology at the Universidad Estatal Paulista (Brazil). He is also the academic director of the Cátedra Latinoamericana Narrativas Transmedia (Rosario, Argentina) and is one of the leaders of the Grupo de Estudio on the new ecology of communication media, a central theme of this volume. On the other hand, Luciana Renó is an electrical engineer, has a master's degree in Information Processes and during her doctorate at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid (Spain) did research in the field of data journalism and the transmedia narrative. Currently, she is working on a post-doctorate degree in Data Journalism and Social Communication Media at the Universidad de Sao Paulo (Brazil). Carolina Campalans is a journalist with a degree from the Universidad de Playa Ancha (Chile) and has a master's degree in Social Communication from the Universidad Pompeu Fabra

(Spain). Today, she is professor and coordinator of the Journalism and Public Opinion Program at the Universidad de Rosario in Colombia.

In each chapter, New Ecology of Media and Community Development presents diverse contents and points of view coming from countries like Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Portugal and USA, that allow the reader to gain knowledge and see its practical application via examples and topics related to studies done on the new ecology of communication media. All this is carried out using the new business models and considering the contemporary social communication scene.

In the first chapter, Brazilian researcher M. Cicilia Peruzzo Krohling carries out a contextualization of the discussion on community development in the configuration of a new media ecology. According to the researcher, the advance of cyberculture has brought awareness to the various ways to consolidate processes of information, develop knowledge and communication and empower a new society. The chapter "Challenges Popular and Community Communication Face in Cyberculture: Approaching a Proposal of Emerging Local Knowledge Community" introduces the debates and the reflections of the following chapters.

Meanwhile, Octavio Islas uses the first lines of the book's second chapter to point out the important ideas of Marshall McLuhan. In

"McLuhan, a Complex Thinker", the researcher also explains what ecology of media is via authors like Neil Postman, Paul Levinson and Robert Logan. In this chapter, Islas makes pertinent reflections about the speed at which information circulates on multiple screens allowing the convergence between old and new media. Along these same lines, of emerging communication processes and languages, the following chapter titled "Transmedia Narrative and Its Influence on Communication Processes", Vicente Gosciola of Brazil analyzes the transmedia narrative as a strategy to create journalistic products that reach connected audiences that are not satisfied with a sole form of communication media, but often simultaneously use multiple media platforms.

In the following chapter, "Macrotendencies of the Digital Culture", Jorge Alberto Hidalgo Toledo adds to the previous chapters' reflections by presenting and listing the possibilities of the digital world that emerge via the adaptability processes of contemporary society. According to the Mexican researcher, the new media convert invisible people into visible citizens, and in this way, bring change to the morale, customs and behavior of the human beings in a society.

Portuguese researcher Nídia Salomé Morais, San Juan Bautista and Fernando Ramos show the results of a survey on the use of communication technologies

in pedagogical processes in the chapter "Use of Communication Technologies in Learning: A Study with Professors and Students in the Portuguese Public High School System". It was possible for the researchers to observe the frequency of use in the learning management systems and in the interpersonal communication technologies, both by the professors as well as the students.

Discussions on notions of hypertext, hypermedia and interactivity are found in "Interfaces and Narratives of E-learning Spaces: a Case Study of the Educative Website Campus Sapo". In this article, Luciana Renó presents an investigation that consolidates discussions initiated in the previous chapter by the Portuguese researchers. This chapter offers suggestions for its improvement and topics for further research on the study of interactive interfaces in the field of education for social development.

In the chapter titled "Tedium is the Message? Communication and Creation with New Social Networks", Professor and Media-Ecologist Robert K. Blechman presents the experimentation in the production of books of fiction, discussing communication theories that are interactively produced The author presents new theories related to the new ecology of communication media and introduces concepts on a documentary model mostly unexplored by other researchers in the audiovisual field.

"Digital Public Television in Brazil in Favor of Tele-community Journalism" is the next chapter in the book. The discussion proposed by Brazilians Francisco Machado Filho and Mayra Fernanda Ferreira provides information about the development of a television format open educational resources. Using the title "Superman and His Potential for Open Educational Resources (OER)", the chapter is based on the theories of the new communicational narratives and clearly shows the reader that people can learn on their own time via videos available on YouTube.

Using multiple locations, researchers from different countries, theories and practices present the reader of New Ecology of Media and Community Development with the identities, challenges and opportunities that shape the new ecosystem of communication media. In the last chapter, "Community, Democracy and Journalism on Technology: a Debate on the Reform of the Link Estado", Brazilian researcher Andressa Kikuti refers to the discussion on the role of journalism in the community, and in the development and knowledge of the new ecology of media based on emerging technologies, via the use of Twitter. Hence, the researcher joins the research project on new media ecosystems, creativity and literature.

In the next chapter, researcher Denis Renó presents the results of his experimental research with transmedia documentaries. In the chapter "Citizen Participation in the Galician-Portuguese Transmedia Documentary".

That promotes the community via interactive digital television. The researchers conduct a study on digital television in Brazil and its limitless possibilities. In the following chapter, Brazilian researchers Andrea Cristina Versuti and David Daniel Alves da Silva present a transmedia study on how the Superman franchise supports education and the community by way of.

NUEVA ECOLOGÍA DE LOS MEDIOS Y DESARROLLO CIUDADANO

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Cybermetrics Measuring the Web

"Measure what is measurable; and make measurable what is not so". This quote by Galileo is still valid in the ongoing debate about colleges and universities and their role in society as higher education establishments that are continuously subject to performance indicators and evaluations using different tools, following the logic of production and impact of the traditional scientific publications circuit; where if you are not on Google, you don't exist.

To this end, the discipline of cybermetrics, described by Isidro Aguillo and Enrique Orduña-Malea in their work, is proposed as a tool that can be used to objectively quantify the reach of a college (or other establishment) by studying the links to and from its website. This is done because the websites of these schools are playing an evermore important role in academic establishments achieving their mission, in terms of serving as spaces for dissemination on the internet. Several international rankings are evaluating their global presence and visibility, being a differentiating factor in a highly competitive environment.

Its methodology is based on the same overall measurement and valuation scheme general used in bibliometric studies to provi-

de quantitative analysis of the citations and references among authors, but this time applied to the entire internet, or, as the authors prefer to call it, the web. The definition of cybermetrics given to us in the text makes note of the semantic disquisitions that the term has had since the first years of the internet, defining it today as the study and characterization of the web, based on the analysis of its constitutive elements (especially those related to its creation, structure, topography, diffusion, interrelations, evolution, usage and impact) via quantitative techniques used in social research.

These aspects are presented, from general down to specifics, in the main chapters of the book, in which cybermetrics are explained from three angles. First is the descriptive, defining its scope of action, its focal points, units of analysis and the main indicators are identified, such as size, mention, use and satisfaction, among others. This is where the number of pages indexed in the search engines or the amount of mentions on social networks as a sign of popularity becomes important.

The second is the instrumental, which mentions the main instruments used to measure the presence of and establishes parameters, based on the study of the audience and fundamentally in the positioning in search engines or search engine optimization (SEO). Lastly, the third section of the book refers to applied cy-

bermetrics, the point where this technique connects with the necessities of social research and is illustrated with examples of its use on the college scene, on social media, in corporate world and by the people of today.

Despite being written using very technical and academic language, this last section holds one of the main strengths of this work: revealing the practical applications of the technique, providing specific case examples and links to useful online tools for all those who are not familiar with the material. In the case of the study of the college websites, several different methodologies are mentioned for its application and heuristic-systemized models based on the number of links to individual or personal pages, websites, directories and domains, determining which have the most inlinks being synonymous with quality, due to linking being a sign of recommendation. This criteria was the one that gave Google its initial success, thanks to the measuring of the importance of website pages using the algorithm PageRank.

Another important aspect that can be measured is the size of the domain, which is done via its indexing in search engines. However, it's difficult to inquire given the vastness of college websites and the differences detected among the various engines, and thus today, the use of a sole search engine isn't a reliable way to calculate real size. One exam-

ple of this type of measurements, evermore important in evaluating academic impact, is the Ranking Web of Universities, whose editor and creator is Aguillo himself. Carried out since 2004 by Spain's Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC), Webometrics, name that this ranking is also known by, evaluates more than 25,000 websites of higher learning establishments twice a year. Together with external links, it also includes the presence or position based on the total number of pages indexed in the main search engine; excellence, according to the number of academic works published in main international journals, using data provided by Scimago Journal Rank; access, according to the total amount of documents indexed by Google Scholar On this last factor, a question must be raised about the quantity versus quality ratio and what correlation really exists

between a school's level and how many Word, PDF or PowerPoint files it publishes, points that the book does not clarify. All things considered, the factors used to create this ranking allude to promoting electronic publishing of academic production and, nonetheless, strengthening open access, which speaks of the college or university's overall performance.

Another weakness of cybermetrics as a technique is that it does not incorporate qualitative variables related to usage, traffic, valuation or user participation on websites. These are metrics that social media do provide. Another important topic discussed in this text is the emergence of the social network in the colleges' communication strategies and the high value that is being assigned to the academic and professional uset of these platforms. This has led to the emergence of altme-

trics (short for alternative metrics). Its initial success is due to its use of statistics coming from various sources like blogs, Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, YouTube, social bookmarking sites like

Delicious and CiteULike, and reference managers like Mendeley and Zotero, to create a new way to measure article readership. It's at this point that the next challenge for authors arises, cybermetrics and the academic establishments themselves: how to effectively systemize social networks and their own Scientific or Academic Social Network Sites (ASNS), such as ResearchGate and Academia.edu, that combined have more than 26 million users, giving researchers a more direct platform for knowledge diffusion.

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